THE CHURCH UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH

REV. F. G. LEE. D.D.

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Sebastian Bohan, O.P.

THE CHURCH UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH.

An Historical Sketch.

BY

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VOLUME THE SECOND.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON
"THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH."

"That bright Occidental Star, Queen Elizabeth, of most happy memory."—*The Epistle Dedicatory of King James's version of the Bible.*

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CHAPTER I.

The action which had been taken at Rome produced one direct effect, viz. that the persecution of those who clung to the Old Religion became at once more merciless, bitter, and unrelenting. While some few endeavoured to escape the penalties imposed by occasionally going to the new services, the large majority resolutely and firmly declined to do so.

As regards the old clergy, "Queen Mary's priests," as they were still called, some notoriously conformed in the hope of another change, or possibly in order to have greater liberty and licence. Others, however, stood firm unto the very end, living and dying in the Faith of their forefathers.

Of the former an acute writer thus remarks :— "When punishments are inflicted on the one hand, and considerable advantages offered on the other; when non-compliance is attended with bitter sufferings, and temporizing encouraged with rewards, a sudden change in matters of religion is justly ascribed either to the fear of the one or hope of the other. And this was the case from the very beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reformation. Great numbers of the inferior clergy who came over to it were frightened into a compliance, and taught to conform by the sufferings of others. They saw their bishops imprisoned, and all those of their own rank who had refused the Oath of Supremacy turned out of their livings, and reduced to beggary. So that they had no other choice left but either to conform or starve, having nothing but their benefices to depend upon for a livelihood. A terrible temptation to those who are not armed with virtue strong enough to undergo a lingering martyrdom! But the greatest part were prevailed upon by the powerful charms of liberty and ease. For, besides the liberty they were sure to enjoy of gratifying their incontinence, as the effect soon showed, the Queen had by the plenitude of her ecclesiastical power contrived such a commodious Reformation for them that, if they would but conform, they should keep their benefices, and at

the same time be eased of the most painful part of the duties annexed to them."*

Of the Catholic laity by far the greater number had deliberately declined to attend the new services. Enactment had been added to enactment, statute to statute, but all in vain. They could not conform. Their consciences were altogether against it. The new religion, made only a few years ago, was certainly not from God. The new ministers had no proper ordination, and many of them no ordination at all. One contradicted another, and all was confusion; while the new doctrines were heretical or erroneous. They therefore would not conform.† Hence they lay at the mercy of their enemies. At any moment they might be arrested, and hurried off before the appointed courts to be interrogated on oath as to whether or not they had been to church, where, when, and how often they had received the Lord's Supper, and whether they held the parson's written certificate that this had been publicly done. If not, they were condemned as

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* "England's Conversion and Reformation compared," p. 260. Antwerp: 1725.

† The above is duly and exactly paraphrased from replies to the inquiries of the Commissioners of whom Grindal was one.

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recusants to fines and imprisonment; and if, having previously communicated, they had repented of the act and been reconciled by some priest, they forfeited their lands and goods, and were liable to be confined in prison for life. Thus, to say Mass, as well as to hear Mass, was a crime. To receive a confession, as well as to make a confession, was the same. To teach the Catholic Faith as brought hither by St. Augustine, or to be taught it, was the like. To know that a priest was at a certain place, and not to seize or betray him was a crime. To give him food, shelter, or money was also a crime. To remain away from the services of the desolate and ruined churches was a crime; torture, imprisonment, and death were the punishments. So that the rack and gibbet and the gallows were in constant requisition; while the prisons and the dungeons were choked with innocent victims.*

Elizabeth's Inquisition, for such it was, was

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* "Of our late persecution in general it is so extreme as the like was never. All prisons are full of all sorts, old and young men, wives, widows and maids. It is not enough to use all allegiance by way of protestation; unless they can get one to renounce the Pope and confer with the ministry; or else to be committed and indicted for £20 by the month, and all further misery to be inflicted that they can possibly devise."—"The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers." Third Series, p. 50. London: 1877.

empowered to exercise an absolute control over men's opinions, and to punish all according to the discretion of its members. Ordinary evidence might be received in the ordinary manner; but torture and imprisonment (what these were will be soon seen in detail) were likewise to be used whensoever thought necessary. Thus this hypocritical woman, aided by men like Cecil and Walsingham, the bishops and the judges, as well as the ordinary justices of the peace,* punished in a most barbarous manner persons absolutely guiltless of any crime whatsoever, and this by punishments hitherto reserved for the most dark and deadly crimes.

But the tyranny of inflicting fines for recusancy, *i.e.* for declining to attend the new services, was the most tyrannical. If persons honestly and conscientiously believed that attendance thereat involved the sin of apostacy (and most of their religious teachers so taught them), surely their consciences were not to be forced by such odious

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* A justice of the peace was defined as "an animal, who, for half a dozen chickens, would dispense with a dozen laws" ("Sir Simon D'Ewes' Journal," p. 661, London: 1682); while as regards bribes offered to, and received by, some of the superior judges, Recorder Fleetwood (quoted in "Wright's Letters," vol. ii. p. 247) asserts that it had grown to be a trade in the Court to make means for reprieves. "Twenty pounds for a reprieve is nothing, though it be but for bare ten days."

laws. But bribery had then become a science; the bribed were exceedingly numerous, and money with which to reward them was notoriously scarce. Hence this plan of fines was cleverly adopted. Old families paid them; upstarts and time-servers received them. The actual punishment for refusing to attend the Queen's new services was no less than twenty pounds a lunar month, or about two hundred and fifty pounds a year; which, according to the value of money in the present day, would be equivalent to an annual fine of three thousand two hundred and fifty pounds per annum. Hoards and children's marriage-portions, put by year by year from the time of their birth, thus soon decreased, and subsequently vanished. Numbers of noblemen and gentlemen endured this tyranny, and anxiously endeavoured to pay these demands, so long as their property enabled them to do so, by selling their estates (and this of course by forced sales and at great disadvantage); but, if at any time the fines were in arrears, a statute recently passed authorized the immediate seizure of all their personal property in addition, together with two-thirds of their real estates every six months, so long as the arrears were unpaid. Sometimes an annual composition was received instead; but this was regarded by Elizabeth and her ministers as a great favour.

Thus, under this woman's disastrous rule, the Catholic gentleman's manor-house or mansion afforded him neither security nor safety. The walls may have been thick, and the moat around them broad and deep. Within, memorials of the past, and of those who had crossed the Dark River, told silently of the peace of the grave. In the courtyard the peacock may have sunned itself undisturbed, or the swans moved gracefully upon the still waters. But the pleasant quiet of the old home was a mockery; while its material stability maybe only reminded its thoughtful owner how insecure was now his own altered lot. Peace was denied him; he experienced no such protection as just and righteous laws in a Christian state should always provide. His house was no longer his castle, as the ancient phrase stood. For the indiscretion of friends, or the ill-will and malice of foes; the dishonesty of tenants or the carelessness of servants; a word uttered by accident; the sight of a rosary or crucifix; might cause the immediate break-up and desolation of his ancient and pleasant home, and bring him face to face with Ruin. In by-ways and retired nooks, under high patronage, the disguised spy constantly skulked or crawled, in order to betray and impoverish the descendants of English gentlemen who, both at home and abroad, had been valorous and valiant in the field, just and honest

in their due positions at home, the stay and strength of England,—hitherto a happy country, where Truth had found a temple and Freedom had been secured and loved.

As for the poorer recusants, who owned consciences, and whose only comfort was their Faith, they were in a like sorry plight. They too were cited, charged, and condemned. But how could any of such miserable creatures, who with the greatest difficulty had kept body and soul together, pay the fines and compositions which had been imposed?* They could not. For no sheriff's official can draw blood out of a flint stone, nor can any man give what he does not possess. They were sent off to prison therefore; huddled together in rank and filthy dungeons, and fed on black bread and brackish water. On one occasion as many as eighty-two had stood in the dock at Oxford at once. At York two hundred and three were condemned and imprisoned either there, at Beverley, or at Hull, in the course of three days;

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* In the course of an inquiry into the existence of bondsmen in England at the time of and after the Reformation, Mr. Furnivall has been shown, by Mr. Selby and Mr. Bond of the Record Office, two grants by Queen Elizabeth in the seventeenth year of her reign (A.D. 1575), to Sir Henry Lee, as a reward for his services, of all the fines and compositions he could extract from three hundred bondsmen and women.

until at length the various counties petitioned to be relieved of their care and cost. Then, after having been stripped to the waist (women as well as men), these prisoners were sometimes tied up to a post, first flogged until the blood streamed down their backs; and then, having had their ears bored with a red-hot iron, were sent off without either money or food, to do as they could or starve. If they were not possessed of twenty marks, they were to quit their native land within three months, and to suffer death, without any fresh trial or further process, if they returned.

One fact at length became clear, viz. that unless some actual and practical means were taken without delay by which to keep alive an interest in the Ancient Faith, and unless authorized officers were appointed to maintain and defend it, it must surely cease to exist, and this in no long period. The priests ordained in Queen Mary's reign were, one after the other, dying out.* Poverty, anxiety, and imprisonment had

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* One priest "for avoiding searches he hath been compelled five days and nights to lie in the woods, and other times to walk on hills and forests, and lie in hay-barns. He hath reconciled one hundred and sixty. He hath been driven to sit up four whole nights together to do works of charity, sometimes hearing an hundred several confessions at one time."—"An Ancient Editor's Note-book," MS., Stonyhurst College.

made their hair prematurely grey, and weakened their bodily powers. They had lost their spirits, and their energies had faded and failed. The illegally-deprived bishops were kept in confinement, and consequently could not keep up the supply of clergy. A true vocation for the office, and due preparation, were at least needed. How could the latter be given when persecution was rampant? Who, then, would propose a remedy—who supply the want? What could be done?

Dr. William Allen, already referred to, of good and ancient family,* was the patriotic and far-sighted person who so charitably and boldly stood forward to give an answer and provide a remedy. From the outset he had clearly enough seen the magnitude of the evil and the true nature of the remedy required. With an intimate knowledge of his contemporaries, and a sincere devotion to the Church of his baptism, he set himself in good earnest to accomplish the task which the religious revolution then effected in his native

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* He was a son of Esquire John Allen, of Ross-hall, co. Lancaster. His sister Mary Allen married one of the Worthingtons of Worthington, an ancient Catholic family of rank and lineage.—From some MS. Notes by a relation, the author discovers that in 1808 there was a striking portrait of the Cardinal at Kiddington House, Oxfordshire, in which he was represented in rochet, scarlet mozetta, and biretta. It belonged to the late Charles Browne Mostyn, Esq.

land made it so essential for him to undertake. He was learned and eloquent, bold and discreet, a good tactician, and patient under difficulties. From the first he had let his fellow-Christians know that Catholic Authority could never tolerate any attendance at the new Zwinglian services. On that point his trumpet had never given any uncertain sound. To him, therefore, many seemed to look up with confidence and trust as to a guide. And they did not look in vain.

He resolved without delay to open a College at Douay in Flanders, for the education of English Catholics for the priesthood, on the model of those valued institutions at Oxford and Cambridge, which were now shut to them at home. Friends and allies who had been consulted on the subject, not only gave their sincere approbation to the scheme, but rendered substantial and efficient help. Men denied themselves sorely in order to aid; contributions came in profusely; more at first than were actually required. When at the inauguration of the college, the Mass of the Holy Ghost was said by Dr. Allen in the private chapel of his new institution, only six companions, five of them being Oxford men, knelt behind him at the Elevation, imploring the Almighty's blessing on their joint labours. So soon as the start had been first made, difficulties seemed to vanish marvellously. Men planted and watered, but God

gave the increase. First came the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear. In a short time more than a hundred and fifty exiled Englishmen, mourning over the desolation of their country, but full of resolution, zeal, and devotion, had been enrolled on the books of the College, in order to study theology, receive the sacerdotal character, and then return to their native shores at the risk of their liberties and lives, to keep the lamp of Divine Truth burning in their once happy island-home.*

Theirs was a noble work. In less than five years, ninety-six priests, charitable, zealous, and fearless, anointed with the unction of the Holy One, had landed in England to perpetuate the Ancient Faith. Later on more came, in a like spirit of self-sacrifice ready to face Death; and though, for many generations, and through more than three centuries, it appeared as though the

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* "This Seminary or College counts amongst her *alumni*, or such as have been some time her members, one cardinal, one archbishop, twelve bishops, two other bishops-elect, three archpriests with episcopal faculties, eighty doctors of divinity, seventy writers, many of the most eminent men of divers religious orders, and what is most glorious of all, above one hundred and fifty martyrs, besides innumerable others who have either died in prison for their Faith, or, at least, have suffered imprisonments, banishments, &c., for the same."—Richard, Bishop of Debra.

chill of a permanent Winter had, as it were, throughout all seasons, settled upon a garden where the spiritual flowers and fruit had once been beautiful and rich; yet, after much patient waiting and many a prayer that the dew of heaven might fall, a Second Spring appeared, when men least expected its balmy breath and bursting buds; and so the flowers of grace again adorned the earth and the welcome time of the singing of birds came back once more.

Archbishop Parker died of the stone, having suffered much, on the 17th May 1575. Below the middle height, his features were heavy and dull; his hands large, his form portly; and he is said to have been somewhat rough in his manners and wanting in refinement. From Queen Elizabeth's standing-point—save in the case of having secured for himself a wife, Mistress Margaret Harleston—he proved himself to have been politic, discreet, and duly subservient to the State authorities; sufficiently pliable to have caused them no inconvenience by the assumption of an independence which he did not possess, and never cared to hanker after; and was found to be at all times a useful and prudent adviser in ecclesiastical questions. More considerate than others of the new bishops for those of the Old Faith, he appears to have been a learned man, particularly in history and antiquities; and in this respect

was unlike the majority of his brethren; moreover he was not stained with those obvious vices which overtook so many of the "Reformation" prelates; and, when he saw how the Supreme Governess disliked them, he gave no sanction whatsoever to the fanatical extravagancies of the Puritans* and their various sects. He was a commonplace (but somewhat dull and insipid) Erastian. From the wreck which had overtaken the abbey-libraries, however, he wisely gathered several literary and paleographic treasures, which still remain as a memorial of him at Lambeth Palace, and his "Antiquities of the Church, and Lives of the Archbishops," is a learned antiquarian volume. He was buried with some heraldic pomp in the chapel of that prelatial mansion, and an altar-tomb was placed over his remains.†

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* In Lodge's sketch of the life of Parker, he declares truly enough that at that time "all the exterior decencies of devotion were reviled as remnants of Popery, and ecclesiastical propriety was viewed merely as the means of spiritual pride."—Lodge's "Portraits," vol. iii.

† The remains of this prelate were buried in the midst of the chapel; but in the time of the Great Rebellion, that building was "converted into a dancing-room, they [the Rebels] having first beat down Archbishop Parker's tomb in the middle of it, and thrown his bones upon the dunghill." —See "Trials for High Treason," &c., Part I., p. 411. London: 1720. The empty tomb now stands at the south-west part of the building, in a corner.

Edmund Grindal, first Bishop of London, afterwards translated to York in 1570, was appointed Parker's successor as Primate of all England, in the early part of the year 1576. He was a Cumberland man, who had been educated at Cambridge, patronized by Ridley, and had taken a moderate part in the disputes concerning the character and comprehensiveness of the Book of Common Prayer, when the foreign reformers wished it to be further "reformed." He, too, was an Erastian, though puritanically inclined, and a great persecutor of his opponents.

An amusing anecdote is on record of the high-handed manner in which the Queen practically maintained her supremacy over the bishops whom she had made, and may be here recounted. Cocks of Ely, a noted Puritan, then dwelt at his official town House to the north of Holborn—a spacious and magnificent edifice with hall, chapel,* library, parlour, gate-house, and hostelrie, of rich Second-Pointed architecture, surrounded

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* The Chapel, dedicated in honour of St. Etheldreda of Ely, after having been in a state of humiliating degradation for centuries, was purchased by the Fathers of the Order of Charity, and solemnly opened for divine service in the presence of the Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster (who preached with great unction and charity) in 1879. Mass is again said daily; and a relic of the patroness is placed under the altar.

with a garden and well-wooded grounds of no less than twenty-acres. Sir Christopher Hatton,* one of the Queen's later favourites, a person of handsome figure and an accomplished dancer, often looked upon the stately palace and fair surroundings of the bishop—the situation was pleasant, the air pure, the land productive—and at last, like Ahab of old, coveted a portion. The Queen on learning this, ordered Cocks to transfer by legal deed a certain part to the new Vice-Chamberlain, and with no delay. But the Bishop looked at the proposal from another point of view, and pleaded that as he only held the property in trust for the See, and owned but a life-interest in it, he was altogether unable conscientiously to alienate any portion.

Upon which the Supreme Governess, who notoriously disliked consciences, wrote to him as follows :—

"Proud Prelate,—You know well what you were afore I made you what you now are. If you do not immediately comply with my request I will unfrock you, by God.

"Elizabeth R."

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* There is an excellent portrait of Sir Christopher Hatton, from the brush of Kettel, at Dytchley Park, Oxfordshire. It was a present from Hatton himself to Sir Henry Lee, K.G., and descended to the Lord Viscount Dillon, through his ancestress Lady Charlotte Lee.

His lordship, being no doubt impressed by the threat and the oath conjoined, and seeing that the person who had made a bishop could most probably unmake one, did as he was told. The gate-house of his palace on Holborn Hill, and a considerable part of the adjacent property, were speedily and duly made over to Sir Christopher, who still gives the name of "Hatton Garden" to a modern street in that changed locality.

As early as the year 1575, a congregation of Dutch Anabaptists, numbering nearly thirty persons of either sex, was seized in London on Easter Sunday and committed to prison. This sect* was one of the most direct and offensive products of the so-called "Reformation." Its members rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, repudiated baptism, and denied the lawfulness of war, oaths, and magistrates. All this of course made them specially obnoxious. Four of the persons seized and accused, recanted their errors at St. Paul's Cross. Eleven were condemned to be burnt, but were banished instead. Two men, however, John Wielmacher and Hendrick Ter Vort, were actually

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* Its lineal descendants at the present day are a great curse to the country. For in many places they still do much to prevent the lower classes having their children christened, so that many thousands year by year die unbaptized and unregenerate.

burnt at Smithfield, and died enduring great agonies.* Fox, the author of what is called his "Martyrology," wrote to the Queen† urging her to inflict some other death than burning, as burning was only the Pope's method of punishment, as he falsely asserted—conveniently forgetting the cruelties which Servetus received at the hand of John Calvin, and those endured by Lambert, Allen, and Frith from Archbishop Cranmer. But the Queen, who hated the Puritans more than the Catholics, would not, and did not interfere.

In the meantime persecution was steadily carried on in every part of England. Terror and misery everywhere ensued. Many persons were banished. The treatment through a considerable period of Doleman and Jackson, two priests of Queen Mary's reign, and others of like standing, may be gathered from the confession of Robert Gray, a priest,

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* "Two Dutchmen, Anabaptists, were burnt in Smithfield, who died in great horror, with roaring and crying."—Stowe's "Annals" *in loco.*

† On another and similar occasion it is on record that the Queen calling to mind "that she was the Head of the Church; that it was her duty to extirpate error; and that heretics ought to be cut off from the flock of Christ that they may not corrupt others," signed the death-warrant of two nonconformists, who were burnt to death in Smithfield.—Rymer's "Fœdera," xv. 740, 741.

taken by that cruel and infamous priest-taker, Richard Topcliffe.* Every endeavour was made to find out what religious services were held at Lord Viscount Montagu's house at Cowdray, near Midhurst, and at Sir Robert Dormer's mansion at Wing in Buckinghamshire. Watchers were stationed near and servants bribed. These noble families were related to each other and warmly upheld the Ancient Faith. William Browne, grandson of the first Viscount Montagu, born in 1578, entered the Society of Jesus, and died a lay-brother abroad, aged fifty-nine. His sister Dorothy had married Edward Lee of Stantonbury.† Their mother Mary was one of the Dormers of Eythrope and Thame. All these, amid the greatest difficulties, practised the Ancient Religion, and always carefully protected the old clergy. Many of these latter who had resigned their preferments for conscience' sake, were provided for by the Montagus. At Wing and Eythrope there were priests' hiding-places, and it is on record that Sir Robert Dormer every year

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* See "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. ccxlv. folio 138. Author's MS. Collections.

† Father Roger Lee, S.J. (son of Edward Lee, and Amicia his wife, dr. of Sir Edmund Ashfield, of Ewelme, Oxon.), was of this family.—See "Records of the English Province," vol. i. pp. 456 *et seq.* London: 1877.

laid by a considerable sum of money to distribute to those poor out-cast clergy of the Old Faith,* who patiently suffered poverty rather than conform to the new state of things, and who found a home at no great distance from the mansion of this Catholic nobleman.

Some writers, either misinformed or inexact in their statements, have boldly asserted that priests of Queen Mary's reign were never persecuted, and that no undue persecution was inflicted on any of the older clergy at all until the Bull of Pope Pius V. had been issued. But this is quite inaccurate, as the following original document conclusively proves :—

"Sir John Bowlton, priest, committed the first year of Her Majesty's reign, first to York Castle,

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* The following examples of how the old clergy were sometimes treated is worthy of note :—"Sir Michael Bowton, priest [an old man *in marg.*], about thirteen years since being apprehended and committed to prison to Ousebridge, was called before the judges the next assizes after, and because he would not tell them his place of abode, they burned him through the ear for a rogue."—"Notes by a Prisoner in Ousebridge Kidcote," p. 307. Mr. William Bandersby, an old man and priest, was committed to the Castle, where he died in 1587. —*Ibid.*, 322. Mr. Richard Bowes, an old priest, sometime Priest-Vicar of Ripon Minster, *i.e.* from 1554 to 1569, but who would never do any Protestant Service, nor come to church, was committed to York Castle, where he died.—*Ibid.*, 322.

from thence to Ousebridge, where he remained ten or twelve years close prisoner, and from thence removed to Hull Blockhouse, there remained about eight years, and then banished beyond the seas. Sir Nicholas Grene, priest, being committed twenty-eight years since to Ousebridge, where he remained five years and then died. Sir Henry Comberforth [priest] committed prisoner to Ousebridge twenty-six years since, where he remained six years, from thence removed to Hull Blockhouse, remaining there close prisoner about ten years and there died. So likewise Sir Thomas Bedall and Thomas Bell. The last-named was committed twenty-four years since to Ousebridge, where he lay all one cold[est] winter as hath been seen of frost and snow, in the stocks: divers preachers coming the same time to confer with him; then removed to the Castle."*

The timid as well as the more bold and devout adherents of the Ancient Faith, when their means would permit, sought an asylum from such persecution in foreign countries. When this became known to the Court, Proclamations for their return were speedily issued; and, if they did not

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* "Notes by a Prisoner in Ousebridge Kidcote."—Original MS. at Stonyhurst College.

at once come back, their lands and goods were seized, and sold at mere nominal prices to the supporters and adherents of the authorities and those in power. In one year no less than sixty-eight fugitives were so treated.* Thus opposition was successfully borne down, for all opponents were legally robbed and ruthlessly ruined. If such a policy deserved the name of "statesmanship," Queen Elizabeth's advisers were statesmen indeed.

Many of the bishops were likewise active in taking proceedings against all recusants. If any of their lordships appeared to be indifferent on the subject, or apathetic, Cecil employed some mutual friend or agent to jog their memories, and remind them of their duties. Occasionally he did this himself. Purity of faith, in that conscientious and religious statesman's opinion, was the first and greatest need. The Pope's religion, he piously observed, was most impure. Therefore the official believers in a better, as he pointed out, should strive to make others believers also. To ferret out the obstinate or timorous, to worry again and again those who had been ferreted out, and were then very probably in prison, was one of the chief and most charitable duties of the

* Strype's "Annals," vol. ii., Appendix No. 102.

Protestant prelates. Grindal, a person of considerable energy, was both constant and earnest in what he called the "blessed work." He always did it with a good will; but, as he informed Cecil regarding a most devout person upon whom he had tried his hand, was not always very successful:—"I can do no good with Sir John Southworth for altering his opinion in religion . . . the man is altogether unlearned, carried with a blind zeal without knowledge. His principal grounds are 'He *will* follow the Faith of his fathers; he *will* die in the Faith wherein he was baptized.'"*

Surely if this persecuted gentleman was satisfied with the religion which Christendom for fifteen hundred years had universally acknowledged to be the only true religion, he might not unreasonably have been allowed the same liberty as that claimed by Grindal and Cecil themselves.

When this prelate, who was great at sharp sayings and epigrammatic retorts, became Archbishop of York, he wrote a letter to Cecil, then Lord Burghley, concerning Dr. Vavasor, a physician of that city, who declined to give up the Ancient Faith, and was such an experienced and

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* "Remains of Archbishop Grindal," p. 305. Parker Society. Letter 56, to Cecil, 3rd August 1569.

adroit controversialist that the Archbishop himself, having in a public disputation been put to shame before a public audience, acted (as his own words allow) thus :—"My Lord President and I, knowing his disposition to talk, thought it not good to commit the said Dr. Vavasor to the Castle of York, where some other like affected prisoners remain ; but rather to a solitary prison in the Queen's Majesty's Castle at Hull, *where he shall only talk to walls.*"

In the City of York, A.D. 1576, at the suggestion of the Queen's Council, more specific and definite inquiries were made as to the number and status of the recusants. The same process was adopted in other places, and similar machinery put in motion.* At York the City authorities were peremptorily ordered to supply careful and detailed information to the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the Northern Council. From the dates of the official letters despatched from London, — the later communications becoming more demanding and exacting in their terms,— it is clear that the action enjoined upon the

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* As early as June 19th, 1573, one of the old clergy, Sir Thomas Woodhouse, had been executed at Tyburne for denying the Queen's supremacy ; and this was done with the customary cruelties. He was a Norfolk man, and of a knightly family.

authorities in question was very distasteful to them; for they evidently put off the disagreeable work of examining the poorer citizens as long as possible. Perhaps no more touching returns can be found amongst such legal documents as those subsequently furnished and still on record. The poor all tell their plaintive story with wonderful simplicity. Between the New and the Old order of things there was a difference, apparent enough both to eye and ear, and so great that none could mistake the one for the other. The innovators and their innovations were utterly distasteful to all under examination. The consciences of those who clung to the Ancient Faith would not allow these poor people to accept the "reforms" thrust upon them. One remarked that "her conscience would not serve her to do so." In another case an aged respondent who, though poor and feeble, had been evidently well taught and owned true instincts as to right and wrong, averred that compliance "would damn her soul." But, to go into particulars. From the existing minutes of the examinations it may be seen how close were the inquiries concerning even the trading class and those below it. One, Elizabeth Wilkinson, the wife of a miller in the parish of All-Hallows-on-the-Pavement, in response to questions, "sayeth she cometh not to the church because there is neither priest, altar, nor sacri-

fice." Isabel, wife of William Bowman, locksmith, of the parish of St. Cross, "sayeth she cometh not to the church, for her conscience will not serve her, because there is not the Sacrament hung up, and other things as hath been aforetime. And further she sayeth that she doth not believe that such words as the priest readeth are true." "Margaret Taylor," wife of Thomas Taylor of the same parish, "sayeth that she cometh not to the church because there is not a priest as there ought to be, and also that there is not the Sacrament of the Altar."

Instead of a priest, vested in his sacrificial garments, attended by his server, and offering day by day the mystical sacrifice at the sacred altar in the dim and distant sanctuary, as had been the case from the coming hither of St. Austin the Monk, the poor now beheld the altar-stone thrown down, and perhaps used as a door-step, the priest imprisoned, the lamps stolen, the sacred vessels profaned; and, in lieu thereof, some "weighty minister" in a black garment reading prayers once a week from a pulpit in the nave to a fanatical and small congregation, whom he faced,* but did not edify.

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* "To the intent that the people may the better heare the Morning and Evening Prayer, when the same by the minister is saide, and be the more edified thereby, we do enjoine that the churchwardens of every parish in places as well exempt

Isabel Portar, already in prison,—and thus punished before she was properly charged with any offence,—the wife of a tailor in the parish of St. Mary, Castlegate, "sayeth that she cometh not to the church because her conscience will not serve her; for things are not in the church as it hath been aforetime in her forefathers' days." Janet Stryckett, widow, of the parish of the Holy Trinity, in Micklegate, "sayeth she cometh not to church because her conscience will not serve her; for the bread and wine is not consecrated as it hath been in time past."* Alice Lobby, the wife of a tanner in the parish of All Hallows, likewise "cometh not to the church because her conscience will not serve her; for she sayeth she thinketh the baptism is not as it hath been; and sayeth she will not receive [at the "Supper"] so long as she liveth."†

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as not exempte, at the charges of the Parish shall procure a decent low pulpit to be erected and made in the body of the church, *wherein the minister shall stande with his face towards the people when he readeth Morning and Evening Prayer.*"—Injunctions given by Edmund Grindal, A.D. 1571. London: William Serres.

* In the Book of Common Prayer then in use, there were no manual acts whatsoever, nor any consecration ordered to be done, in or at the saying of the appointed prayer.

† MS. Records of the Proceedings of the Court of the Lord Mayor of York.—MS. Collections at Stonyhurst College, Angl. A. "By William Hutton, an ancient Catholic Prisoner upon Ousebridge."—"The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers," 3rd Series, pp. 233 *et seq.* London: 1877.

The above are only a few specimens of the replies out of many. They all, more or less, tell the same tale—a heavy tale of individual suffering.

The process of further action was eminently simple and extremely effective. It had been carefully devised round the Council-board of the Supreme Governess in London, and worked admirably. The first weapon was a severe fine for being absent from church; and this, if not promptly paid, was secured by an immediate distraint. Pots and pans,* jewels, "pillow-beres," "coverlids," coffers, and hangings were at once ruthlessly swept off and sold. For silly and superstitious "Papists"—as they were termed—there was, of course, no pity. If such persons owned consciences, it was all the worse for them; for consciences were obviously unprofitable pos-

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* "Our miseries are daily multiplied: we expect every hour dissolution. Our friends abroad are spoiled to their skin; what by the pursuivants, and what robberies they suffer by the under-sheriff and his followers it is long to tell you—neither pot nor pan, nor bedding, nor ring, nor jewels, nor anything whatsoever escapeth their hands. The oath is offered by the Justices even at their pleasure, yet some of them cannot but in their hearts detest the injury. Divers priests have been banished of late, and now more are apprehended and like to be banished."—From a Letter by G. Lambton. MS. Archives, Old Clergy Chapter, Westminster.

sessions, and only brought misfortune. In the battle of life, in that day, those who regarded their consciences lost; while those who boldly disregarded them won triumphantly. The cottage room, therefore, was left empty (its pantry and bread-aumbry rifled), and sometimes the bed-loft over it likewise. If the grave offence of not going to listen to the squabbling preachers and Zwinglian pastors were repeated, imprisonment followed the act of distraint. Tradesmen, yeomen, and husbandmen who themselves conformed were all pressed hard to ensure the conformity of their wives*; while every obstacle was put in the way of those who sought to bring up their children in the Ancient Religion. Schoolmasters of the Old Faith were equally persecuted with the priests. Subsequently all lodgers, servants, and wayfarers † who were occasionally housed in charity

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* "21° Februarii, 20° Elizabeth.—And now John Widdon, William Wilkinson, William Plowman, Richard Durham, Thomas Langton, have submitted themselves to bide the order of this Court for arrearages (*sic*) due by every of them for their wives' offence for not coming to the church, contrary to the ordinance of this city therefore lately established by this Court."—MS. Records of the Proceedings of the Court of the Lord Mayor of York, folio 83b.

† "The Sheriffs of this city, taking occasion to view the prisoners in the Kidcotes upon Ousebridge, they found amongst those that are committed for not coming to church, certain Mass-books, pictures, holy water with strencles [*sic*—

were also brought under the supervision of these energetic officials who exercised local authority; for, by this means, a wandering priest, who, at the risk of his liberty and life, went about to minister to the poor, the desolate, and to prisoners, was sometimes secured, imprisoned, and subsequently either banished or executed.

Now, therefore, that the Ancient Faith, which had made England so great and happy for ages, was thus cast out, there seemed some chance of the total extirpation of all who dared to remain its adherents.

Though it had been and was a religion of charity and hospitality, though the repulsive name of "pauper" was then unknown—for all, whether rich or poor, were regarded as brethren in the One Fold, all owned one Master and possessed a common interest in securing the common good—yet in great probability (as men then alive thought) Elizabeth and her tools would complete the change they had so resolutely undertaken and commenced.

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strencle, *aspersorium* or holy-water sprinkler] beads, pairs of vestments, wax candles and girdle, and a great canvas bag belonging to some man, having in it some unlawful books: wherefore it is supposed that some seminary priest did resort and frequent the company of the said prisoners in the said gaols, and there did say Mass, persuading the said prisoners to remain in their disobedience."—MS. Records, &c. 14th February 158$\frac{3}{4}$.

But Dr. William Allen was doing what lay in his power to resist the work, and was doing it wisely and well. Between him and the Supreme Governess there rolled the sea—happily for his liberty and life; he, therefore, from his new residence, could defy her death-dealing power, while she, frantic with sincere vexation, and savage with feminine spite, was unable to defy his. He had been steadily training a series of zealous and fearless teachers of the Old Religion; and now they had come, in twos and threes, to do their work. They did it well, in the spirit of the martyrs of the Forum and Amphitheatre of old, and soon had their reward.

The Protomartyr of Dr. Allen's College at Douay was Cuthbert Maine,* born at Yalston near Barnstaple in Devonshire. He had an uncle who, having been ordained under Queen Mary, had conformed to the new order of affairs, and was comfortably beneficed in the west of England. This uncle entered him at St. Alban's Hall in the University of Oxford, where he graduated, and having been ordained, subsequently became Fel-

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* See Bishop Challoner's "Memoirs of Missionary Priests," vol. i. pp. 37–45.—"Apology and True Declaration of the Institution and Endeavour of the Two English Colleges," &c., by Dr. William Allen.—John Stowe's "Chronicles," p. 677.—"Athenæ Oxon.," by Anthony à Wood, and the old edition of the "State Trials."

low of St. John's College. There he lived for some years and secured the regard and respect of its members and authorities; but, subsequently, not liking the New Religion, he went over to Douay, where he formally renounced all heresy and schism, and was in due course ordained a priest. Anxious to atone for his past errors by some marked exhibition of zeal, he volunteered for work in England, and in company with another priest, Mr. John Paine, reached his old home in 1576.

Here he became chaplain to a certain Esquire Thomas Tregean who lived on his ample estate near Truro; and for nearly a year laboured incessantly amongst the Cornish people, who were all deeply attached to the Ancient Faith.

In the summer of 1577, William Bradbridge, Bishop of Exeter, was holding a visitation at Truro, when the Sheriff, a certain Esquire Greenfield, was ordered to search for one Bourne who had been convicted in London of a misdemeanor, and to do so in the house of Tregean, where Maine passed as the Esquire's steward, and in which Report declared that the delinquent was hiding.

The Sheriff and his officers, offering a great show of violence, searched the house by force, and finding Maine there, accused him of being the person sought for, but this he denied. However,

on searching him carefully, they found an *Agnus Dei* hung upon a ribbon round his neck, and upon discovering this, at once took possession of all his books, letters, manuscripts, and other property, which they carried off in triumph to the bishop. Amongst these was a printed copy of a document from Rome, announcing a Jubilee, which he had purchased at a bookseller's shop at Douay. They likewise soon lodged Maine in prison at Launceston, "putting great gyves about his legs, and chaining him to a bed-post."

At Michaelmas he was indicted of five separate offences. 1. That he had obtained a Bull from Rome absolving the Queen's subjects from their allegiance, and had so absolved divers. 2. That he had published this Bull in Esquire Tregean's house. 3. That he had maintained the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, and so denied Her Majesty's spiritual supremacy. 4. That he had unlawfully brought into the kingdom a Popish *Agnus Dei*. And, 5. That he had said Mass in Mr. Tregean's house. Maine's reputation stood high amongst his Cornish friends and neighbours. He was of a sweet disposition, with no harsh word for his enemies, and he owned a large circle of friends. Moreover, he was most self-denying, patient, and devout; and this was all well-known to the spectators, amongst whom he had great sympathy.

ST. ALBERT'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

The jury had been "carefully selected so as to serve the Quene's Majestie well and truly," which obviously means that it had been duly packed. The Earl of Bedford, one of the new mushroom noblemen, who took a great interest in all such proceedings, was present; but Judge Manwood presided. With the exception of the *Agnus Dei*, which was found upon Maine, but of which there was no proof that he had brought it hither, there was literally no evidence against the accused of any sort or kind. Surmises without reason, there may have been in abundance. Reasonable surmises there were but few. But as for proofs, there were none. As to the Bull, it merely proclaimed a jubilee. It was not an official copy certified by a notary, but a mere printed version issued by a foreign bookseller.

However, the judge informed the jury that, in a case like that before them, where plain and positive proofs were wanting, strong presumption should be allowed to take their place; adding that it was their bounden duty by their verdict to protect the Queen and condemn the accused.

They did so, with Lord Bedford's avowed approbation, and brought in Maine guilty of high treason. He was held to have offended against the law of 1571. Sentence was pronounced in the usual form.

But it appears that, as certain of the other

judges were dissatisfied with the verdict, some delay was occasioned in carrying it out. The matter was brought before the Privy Council; but such was the iniquity of the times, that, notwithstanding the opinion of several of the judges that the verdict went beyond the evidence, it was resolved to carry it out as a terror to the Pope's allies. The Sheriff of Cornwall, going up to London by command, was knighted for having done his part of the work so efficiently, and took back the death-warrant duly signed.

On the 26th of November a serving-man informed Maine that he was to suffer in three days.

Maine thanked God for this information, and told his informant that if he had anything worthy of his acceptance he would gladly give it, for he had done him greater service than any other. He spent the remaining hours of his life in devout exercises, meditation, mental prayer, and holy contemplation. The second night before he suffered, some prisoners confined in an adjoining apartment beheld a strange and unusual light gleaming over him, though he had neither fire, lamp, nor candle.

On the morning of his execution, in the presence of several ministers, his life was offered him if he would renounce the Old Faith, go to the new services, and acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Queen. Only let him accept these

terms, by an oath on the Geneva Bible offered to him, and all his assumed treasons should be forgiven and forgotten.

But, with a firm resolution, he laughed them to scorn. "What should it profit a man," he asked triumphantly, "if he should gain the whole world and lose his own soul? Or what should he give in exchange for his soul?" And when they held out a copy of the Scriptures, he took it in his hands, drew the sign of the Cross with deliberation over it, kissed it, and then declaring in a loud voice, said—"The Queen never was, never can be, and never shall be, the Supreme Head of the True Church in England."

He was to be drawn a quarter of a mile to the place of execution. The sledge or hurdle was prepared, the horses were harnessed and attached to it; when some of the officials suggested that the head of Maine should be so hung over the side of the sledge, to which he submitted himself to be bound, that he might be killed before he reached the gallows. To this the sufferer readily consented, only it was disallowed by the Sheriff's deputy.

In the market-place of Launceston a gibbet of unusual height had been put up, around which a temporary barricade of stout posts and rails had been placed. On arriving there, and having been unbound, he knelt down and prayed

with great devotion. During this act the crowd observed a remarkable silence. He was not permitted to address the people; though many had come to hear his words of defence, heartily sympathizing with him.

Before he ascended the ladder, he kissed it, as he likewise did the rope.

Just before the executioner was about to remove the ladder, one of the justices cried out to Maine, "Now, villain and traitor, you know that you must die; tell us, therefore, whether Sir John Arundell and 'Squire Tregean knew of these things for which thou art condemned."

"I know nothing of these," he meekly replied, "save that they be good and most godly gentlemen." And then, drawing the sacred sign on forehead, lips, and breast, he said, "O Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit, for Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, Thou God of Truth."

Some of the more brutal officials would have had him cut down at once, but this was disallowed. When the rope was severed, however, life was by no means extinct; but, falling with his head on the side of the platform, which caused a shudder and scream from the populace, he was stunned; so that, as one account puts on record, "he was little sensible of the ensuing butchery."

His sentence otherwise was duly carried out. He was dismembered, ripped up, disembowelled,

beheaded, and quartered. His head was set upon a pole at Wadebridge, a noted highway near Launceston, and his four quarters were exhibited at Bodmin, Tregony, Barnstaple, and Launceston.

One event followed, which left a deep impression on the Cornish people. The hangman, within a month of this act of legal butchery, lost his reason, and became a violent maniac, dying a frightful death in great agony.

With Cuthbert Maine no less than sixteen persons, some gentlepeople and some yeomen and servants, were condemned in a *præmunire*. They had been reconciled by this zealous priest to the Old Religion. At the next assizes Tregean himself suffered by a similar judgment, and was thrown into the common gaol at Launceston, while his ample estate and beautiful home were seized by the Crown. Through the long period of twenty-eight years he remained a prisoner. Though he had been known personally at Court, and was much regarded by many, the Queen refused to listen to any proposal for the alleviation of his long sufferings. Save for his religious ardour, and for the consolation from on high which he received, the years went wearily by. On the Queen's death, the old man, so worn and changed that he was unrecognized by his few living friends, obtained his liberty from King James, but only on condition that he at once expatriated himself.

His children were reduced to penury, and he himself died an exile at Lisbon in 1608.

From this time forward, persecution never ceased. The hurdle and the horses, the hanging-post and the rope, the knife of the blood-bespattered executioner, and the caldron of boiling and bubbling pitch, were in constant and continued requisition. Almost every year, and in some years every recurring month, witnessed the cruel execution of those who followed in Maine's footsteps. Fresh heads of seminary priests were consequently stuck up on poles above the prison gates; more portions of their quartered bodies were exposed to the sun of summer and the winter snows. Perjury, priest-hunting, and gross acts of injustice were then popular amusements. The grimy rabble often enjoyed the sport, more especially those influenced by the Protestant ballad-singers; and grinned with anticipated satisfaction at the idea of being free spectators of a morning's butchery.

Two priests suffered in 1578, four more at Tybourne in 1581. No less than eleven were hung, drawn, and quartered with the usual barbarities in the succeeding year. Of these a considerable number, though first technically hung, but at once cut down, were ripped up alive, had their bowels taken out before their own eyes, as the official sentences expressly ordered, and the

sufferers were then beheaded and quartered. In 1583 two priests thus suffered at York, and two others in Hampshire. Five priests died, after like cruelties, at Tybourne, and one layman, in 1584; a priest and a layman were thus put to death in Lancashire, and a schoolmaster at Wrexham in the same year. In 1585, at Tybourne and York, four were likewise legally murdered—two priests and two laymen. In 1586 no less than seven priests suffered at Tybourne; two in the Isle of Wight, two at York, and one at Gloucester. At York, likewise, Esquire Richard Langley and Robert Bickerdike, a gentleman, were thus executed. Margaret Clitheroe, whose sufferings and death will be recounted and recorded in a later chapter, was in this year pressed to death. In 1587 seven priests suffered; in the following year no less than twenty, with nine laymen. Five priests and four laymen were drawn, hung, and quartered in 1589; nine priests and two laymen in 1590; seven priests and seven laymen in 1591; two priests and one layman in the following year; four priests and one layman in 1593; six priests and four laymen in 1594; four priests in 1595; five laymen in 1596; one priest and two laymen in 1597; four priests and three laymen in 1598; one priest and two laymen in 1599; six priests and seven laymen in 1600; and several more of both orders in the last three years of

this terrible woman's reign. Of those who were imprisoned for years, some throughout their lifetime, Dr. Bridgewater provides a list of more than twelve hundred; but recent researches amongst the State Papers have shown that this number does not probably embody one sixth of those who, including the rank of yeoman, then suffered by imprisonment or expatriation for conscience' sake.

Even as late as this reign the greatest part of London was contained within its actual walls, where gardens for fruit and flowers, and pleasaunces for recreation, adjoining the picturesque timber-houses with quaint dormer windows and high-pitched roofs, abounded. In the whole area now constituting the parishes of St. Margaret, St. Martin, St. Paul in the Convent Garden, St. Ann, St. Giles, St. George, Bloomsbury, and St. Mary-at-the-Bourne there were not, at that time, two thousand houses. The little sanctuary of St. Pancras was the church of a small suburban hamlet. Clerkenwell and Shoreditch were then but thinly populated; Stepney and Statford-Langton only large villages. Spital-fields, Goodman's-fields, and Limehouse-fields were green open spaces with luxuriant blackthorn and privet hedges; here and there a farmhouse stood shaded with clumps of dark elms, or rows of stately poplars, or of lime-trees where the bees were

musical. Spital-fields was first built upon in this reign, a district where the Huguenot silk-weavers from France secured a home. Hitherto its Hospital had stood in fields; so named because of it. With the exception of Bermondsey, where the solid walls of its Abbey still towered above the squat cottages around; and Southwark, with its lofty Church of Our Lady and the house of the Bishops of Winchester; and Lambeth, with its palace, parish church, and archiepiscopal ferry, the tract southwards of the Thames was flat, marshy, and thinly populated. Willow-trees, on both sides, bordered the two chief roads to Kennington and to Kent. The waters of the Thames often overflowed, and made Lambeth a village flanked on either side by broad marshes and spongy meadows, where the water-flag and the oat-grass flourished luxuriantly, and where such flats stretched to the south-west towards the manor-houses of Kennington and Clapham, and to the solid walls of the water-girt mansion then called Vaux's Hall.

The churches, both of the City and its environs, were at this time more than half empty, and the people grew so irreligious and openly wicked that the contrast between the Past and the Present startled many. Chancels in their neglected state and desolation were boarded off from the naves. For they were unused and not wanted. There

the spider spun its web unharmed, and the dust of many seasons lay thick and undisturbed upon the desolate stalls. Early on Sunday mornings, soon after sunrise, the bells of the City spires were sometimes chimed as of old; but there was no Christian sacrifice offered, and no worshippers gathered. Selfishness and self-seeking were rampant. Old religious duties and customs, one after the other, were abandoned and died out. Miserable disputes here and elsewhere * were carried on with bitterness and bad feeling by the new ministers. Butchers took part in "prophesyings," and disputed concerning St. Paul's teaching. Some men wrangled over the official dresses of the ministers: what they should wear, and what they should leave off wearing; others became fanatical, and even mad, by reason of their perplexing disquisitions concerning the free-will of man and the foreknowledge of the Eternal.

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* "Since your departure from Norwich the preachers of the city have taken in hand (both for their better exercise and also for the education of the people), prophesying, which is done once in three weeks; when [some] one first interprets a piece of the Scriptures, which at present is *Paul to the Romans*, for an hour, and then two others reply for half an hour, when we end with prayer.

"My Lord Bishop, at his last giving orders, admitted none that had no knowledge of the Latin tongue or that exercised any secular occupancy; by means whereof John Cayme was not admitted, for he lacked the Latin and was a butcher."—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. xii., n. 27.

Certain persons believed themselves to be already of the family of the saints and the company of the chosen; and declared that nothing they might think, say, or do could alter, by one iota, their predestined and blessed position. Others again (these were "weaker vessels"), gnashing their teeth and tearing their hair, despairingly proclaimed themselves lost throughout eternity; while few or none of the on-lookers who witnessed their phrenzy cared to argue with them to the contrary. Necromancy was practised largely. The Queen and Walsingham frequently consulted Dr. Dee, as of old; while that person became quite a proficient in the occult sciences. Demoniacs increased in number, and superstition on all sides was welcomed. At the same time a steady wave of unbelief rolled forward, and few worked to stem its progress. Authority had been so purposely banished, and License everywhere recommended, that many, knowing not what to believe, believed nothing; and, as a necessary consequence, often became less decent and moral in their ordinary habits than the inferior animals which they despised and ill-treated.*

But terrible sights met the eyes of the citizens on every side; bequeathed by the legal butchers

* The whole of the above account is faithfully paraphrased from the actual records and written lamentations of eye-witnesses.

of Tybourne. Over the gateways of the various prisons, stuck upon poles, there stood the heads, and sometimes the arms and legs, of those who had died for their religion. No one could come up to the City of London from Kent, or pass over old London Bridge to return to that pleasant county, without seeing from twenty to thirty heads, which had been first boiled and tarred, and then dried and become withered under summer heat and winter winds, exposed on poles over the gateway battlements at either end of the bridge. Children looked up with horror; men shuddered involuntarily as they gazed on these dark, eyeless heads, with their matted hair, drawn features, and white, protruding teeth; and tears often fell down the cheeks of women, when such ghastly sights suddenly met their glance: for they knew that those advisers of the Queen then in power had the will to rack and to fine, to imprison, flog, and kill all and any who should oppose the changes which had been so generally effected, or resist the policy sanctioned by the Council. However, in 1582 the people began to murmur that the Court authorities were now making London "but as one shambles for human flesh,"* so numerous were the heads exposed

* On the strength of this complaint, four or five of the condemned "recusants" were sent up to York to be executed.

upon the towers of the bridges, and the limbs hung here and there in public places.

The prisons of London were still full of "recusants." About this time there were no less than thirty-two priests in the Marshalsea,* nearly the same number in the Tower, eighteen in the Gate House at Westminster, eleven in the Compter in Wood Street, nine at St. Bridget's Fountain or Bridewell, five in the prison-house known as the "White Lion," twenty-two in the Compter in the Poultry, fourteen in the Clinke or "Hall of Winchester" in the Bank-side, Southwark, seven in Newgate, and three in the King's Bench Prison. Some of these had been closely confined more than twenty years, and had been racked, otherwise tortured, half-starved, and most cruelly used on many occasions. More than two hundred laymen† were likewise imprisoned in one or the other because of their religion.

The gallows stood near Knavesmoor—a common near to the city, and opposite to a place called Hobbmoor-lane. During the reign of Elizabeth, no less than forty-nine persons suffered here for adherence to the Catholic Faith.

* See "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth" (A.D. 1580), vol. cxlviii., n. 33, 35, 61; vol. cxlix. n. 184; vol. cxc. n. 25, 42, 44, 74; and vol. cxcv. n. 74. (These last-named refer to later years, *i.e.* to the year 1586).

† One Richard Fulwood, a layman, thus details his own miserable lot in Bridewell:—"He had, he said, hardly enough black bread to keep him from starving. His abode was a narrow strongly-built cell, in which there was no bed,

In 1580 numbers of persons fled from England to France and Belgium. Dr. Allen, then President of the college which had been removed from Douay to Rheims, entertained no less than fifty expatriated Englishmen within a single month. Sometimes whole families came, weary and utterly sick at heart; having been unable to endure the fines, persecution, imprisonment, and contumely which they had so long experienced in the land of their birth. The President has left on record his conviction that the devotion thus exhibited to the cause of God and His Church was a standing miracle of grace. Many of these, noblemen's and gentlemen's sons in the flower of their age, resigning the comforts of home and the hopes of future position and usefulness, gave themselves up to a course of preparation for the priesthood; so that they might again return to their native land, anointed with unction from on high, to strengthen and sustain the weak, and help to rebuild its waste and desolate places.

One of the chief argumentative weapons of the

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so that he had to sleep sitting on the window-sill, and was months without taking off his clothes. There was a little straw in the place; but it was so trodden down and swarming with vermin that he could not lie on it. Besides all this, he was daily awaiting an examination by torture."—"Records of the English Province," vol. i. p. 494. London: 1877.

new leaders had continually been that all priests were impostors, and that under the Gospel dispensation the very idea of a priest had no real existence, the office being entirely superfluous; for that the Saviour of the World was the alone and only True Priest, and all others were but impiously and profanely usurping His office without authority, Scripture warrant, or reason. They asserted likewise that the Sacrifice of the Mass was a blasphemous fable and a dangerous deceit; that the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar was "a god made in co-operation by the bakers" and "Queen Mary's shaven conjurors," with other blasphemies too awful to repeat. For themselves they were, as they maintained, but plain ministers of the Word, not priests; preachers, not offerers of any kind of sacrifice except that of prayer and praise. A sacrifice of Bread and Wine had not then been conceived or invented. The "elect," when worshipping, of course offered themselves, their souls, and their bodies as a sacrifice, but nothing more. This they fearlessly asserted the Prayer Book and "Articles of Religion" taught, and nothing further. Possibly they were not wrong.

In answer to this and such-like, which abounds in the ponderous and unread literature of the period, and the points of which are reproduced again and again, Dr. Allen thus quaintly but

forcibly replied. His words are given exactly as they were first printed :—

"Because one special reproch given us pertaineth not to our persons, but to the whole order of priesthood, we may be bold to adde a worde or two for our defense specially concerning that terme, 'Massing Priests,' whereby the new pulpits (the very chairs of the skorneful) merily or mockingly call us and our brethren. Which name yet given us also in public writing of authorities, is not doubtles of skornefulnes, which must needes be far from the editers of such: but as we take it, for distinction and difference betwixt us Catholike and in deede onely, and the other of the new creation, whom the people, for some resemblance of their actions in the ministerie to the wonted celebration of divine things, often call priests, though they list not to be so called, as in deede the ministers cannot of right have any such calling, having no more power, right or authoritie to minister any Sacrament (other than Baptisme, which in some cases women may also do) then they have to make a new moone or another sunne. The Church of God knoweth no óther priests, neither hath Christ instituted any other order of priests, but of these whom contemptuously they call 'Masse Priests.' It is that sort, and none other, to which our Saviour gave power to consecrate His body and blood and offer the same, which is to say Masse." *

But to return to the innovators. In and about the year 1580 many ministers, some of them evi-

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* "An Apologie and True Declaration of the Two English Colleges, the one in Rome, the other in Rhemes," pp. 88, 89, A.D. 1581.

dently not ordained at all,* took livings and would only *preach* to their congregations, refusing altogether to baptize or to celebrate the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and these were termed "no-sacrament ministers"†; upon which Archbishop Grindal wrote to his diocesan officers, and asked for the names of such offenders. The Privy Council likewise interfered, ordering them to be sent up as recusants. But there were too many of them to make it easy to put them down.

Persecution, however, went on apace. More seminary priests arrived, while Puritanism developed in several directions and increased. In 1581, Chaderton, Bishop of Chester, wrote to the

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* Two modern writers of ability, perfectly able to give a faithful judgment, write as follows :—(1) "If the Rectors and Vicars of the parishes, *whether priests or laymen*, were the very scum of the earth, and contrast so very unfavourably with their successors of the present day, the comparison of our bishops with those promoted in the reign of Edward VI. will exhibit this contrast in a still more striking light."—"The Reformation and the Prayer Book," by Nicholas Pocock, M.A. London: 1879. (2) "*Some of the best of them* [*the ministers*] *were ignorant ranters*, utterly unfit to cope with the trained dialecticians who were being reared so carefully beyond the seas."—"One Generation of a Norfolk House," by Augustus Jessopp, D.D. Second Edition, p. 74. London: 1879.

† Strype's "Life of Grindal," p. 363, and Grindal's "Remains," p. 413. See also "Letter from the Lords of the Council," in Grindal's Register, folio 191.

Council urging them on the one hand to bring in a Bill making traitors and felons, without benefit of clergy, of "all vagrant priests as walk about in disguised apparel seducing Her Majesty's subjects." He also, on the other hand, complained that conventicles were not put down, and urged that the preachers should be compelled to reside upon their benefices. As regards the state of his own Cathedral, he gives a most deplorable account. Religion in Chester, apparently, had been reformed off the face of the earth. For all the good which that interesting church did, it might as well have been clean pulled down. "In this Cathedral church of Chester neither the dean nor any prebendary hath been resident or kept hospitality of many years. Neither is any parson or vicar of any parish within the City a preacher."* Overton, of Litchfield and Coventry, in April of the same year, complains, in a melancholy strain, of the state of the county of Salop, though it be "one of the best and conformablest parts of my diocese." There, "of one hundred, all most presented for recusancy, they could get one only to be bound, the rest refusing most obstinately to come before them."†

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* "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," letter dated December 1, 1581.

† Lansdowne MSS. Brit. Mus. No. 33, folio 14.

In other parts they were more successful. Cheshire and Lancashire clung closely to the Old Religion; in certain counties, however, where the ancient nobility had been ruined, and their places supplied by Court nominees and "new men" and ready tools, the "Reformers" apparently had their own way.

In 1580 Dr. Allen* induced Pope Gregory XIII. to send some of the Jesuits into England to aid in preserving the Ancient Faith. Two Oxford men, Robert Parsons, Fellow and Dean of Balliol College, and Edmund Campion, Fellow of St. John's,† were chosen for that purpose. They arrived in the summer, and losing no time in beginning their work, before the Christmas-feast came round, had reconciled to the Church of their fathers many who had lapsed. They acted in the spirit and purport of the Bull of Pope

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* Of this divine, Anthony à Wood gives the following character:—"Certain it is that he was an active man, and of great parts and high prudence; that he was religious and zealous in his profession: restless till he had performed what he had undertaken: that he was very affable, genteel and winning; and that his person was handsome and proper; which, with an innate gravity commanded respect from those that came near, and had to do with him."

† See "The Life of Edmund Campion," by Richard Simpson. London: 1867. A model biography and a mine of information regarding Elizabeth's reign.

Pius V. For, as some might have asked themselves, If, in such a matter, the Father of Christendom could not speak with authority, who could? If he was not to be obeyed, to whom was obedience due? If he was unable to devise a remedy for the sorrows of England, to whom should the afflicted turn?

In the work of Parsons and Campion friends aided them with zeal and devotion. So that they preached by pre-arrangement at different places, and exhorted with all diligence and earnestness various gatherings of sincere adherents and followers. Men of great gifts and of the highest culture, their influence began to be widely experienced at once; they always found an attentive audience, and seldom passed on to some other place without obvious results from their labours. In August of this year Parsons wrote his celebrated "Challenge"—which, having been made public by an esquire of Hampshire named Thomas Pounde, soon secured a circulation throughout the whole kingdom.

At Stonor Park, about five miles to the north of Henley in Oxfordshire, a family of antiquity and repute had long resided—the Stonors. They were earnestly attached to the Ancient Faith. In the attractive and interesting picture-gallery, which runs from east to west on the north side of their pleasantly-placed mansion, are various

representations of those of many generations who have always been leal and loyal to the Faith of their forefathers. In the adjoining church, standing towards the east of the house, Mass has been constantly said without break or discontinuance down to the present day. In that sacred edifice no abomination of desolation has ever been set up. There, under the protection of an influential family, in a house placed towards the lower slope of a hill, away from main roads, and amid the shelter of beechen woods, Parsons was allowed to set up a private printing-press. One book after another was put forth, being sold at Oxford as well as in London; each book full of wholesome truths for the innovators, and telling arguments for the deluded and misled in general. The authorities were beside themselves with anger and annoyance at being unable to unearth the offenders or discover the press. Spies and agents were despatched to secure them.

Parsons, who had been appointed one of the members of the Spanish Ambassador's household, had his head-quarters in London. But Campion, after moving about discreetly for some months, betrayed by one, George Elliot,* was taken in the

* See a document in the handwriting of this man, amongst the Lansdowne MSS., British Museum, Burghley Papers, vol. xxxiii., Pluto, folio 16 *et seq.*, endorsed "10. Aug. 1581.

house of Esquire Yates, at Lyford in Berkshire, on Sunday, July 16th, 1581, just after he had preached to a congregation of nearly sixty listeners—a considerable proportion of whom were young students of the University of Oxford. Lyford House was then a turreted and moated building of some antiquity,—a county family's pleasant home,—in which several carefully-arranged hiding-places existed. Elliot had himself been a servant at Ingatestone Hall in Essex, and at Orpington in Kent, but was then a government spy, on active duty; and, knowing one of the servants at Lyford, entered into conversation with him at the gate of the drawbridge. Elliot's recent apostacy and infamous character were quite unknown to the servant, who admitted him to Mass, and informed him in confidence that Campion would preach. He was taken in due course, at once given over to the care of the Sheriff of Berks, and carried through Abingdon, Reading, and Colnbrooke to London. There he was committed to the Tower. Both the Lord Chancellor and the Lieutenant of the Tower tried to induce him to betray his allies and friends. But he declined. So within a week he was placed upon the rack.

A declaracon of certain Papists, etc. writ by G[eorge] E[lliot] is by one that was servant to the old Ladye Peter."

To quote from a contemporary authority:—"At his first racking they went no farther with him; but afterwards, when they saw that he could not be won to condescend somewhat at least in religion, which was the thing they most desired, they thought good to frame matter of treason against him, and framed their demands accordingly: about which he was so cruelly torn and rent upon the torture, the two last times, that he told a friend of his that found means to speak to him, that he thought they meant to make him away in that manner. Before he went to the rack he used to fall down at the rack-house door, upon both knees, to commend himself to God's mercy; and upon the rack he called continually upon God, repeating often the Holy Name of Jesus. He most charitably forgave his tormentors and the causers thereof. His keeper asking him the next day how he felt his hands and feet, he answered *not ill, because not at all.*"*

Some controversies were held with him in the Chapel of the Tower by certain ministers. "That he might want no good pretence to yield to their

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* From an old Latin MS. sometime at Douay, written by an eye-witness of Campion's death, and quoted in "Memoirs of Missionary Priests," by Bishop Challoner.

desires," it is written, "they often brought to him such divines as they had to confer with him, and to persuade him privately to relent somewhat to their sect." But this was of no avail. Though worn with agony and weak with racking—so weak that his numbed arms hung by his side and he could not stand—he was quite able to give an answer to the worrying and wearying divines. He would not succumb, and did not give in. Having been deliberately allowed to recover a little, the authorities proceeded to rack him a third time; so that when, three weeks later, he was put on his trial for high treason, he was positively unable, according to custom when charged, even to lift up his hand.

Seven persons were arraigned with Campion, and like him were condemned to die. He thus spake:—"I protest before God and the holy angels, before heaven and earth, before this world and the bar whereat I stand, that I am not guilty of any part of the treason contained in the indictment, or of any other treason whatsoever."

But the Jury, having been informed by Popham, the Attorney-General, that "it was the Queen's will that the prisoners should be found guilty," did as they were told.

On December 1st, 1581, he, in company with Alexander Briant and Ralph Sherwin, were executed at Tybourne, with all the ordinary horrors.

A relation of Campion's was informed by the Lieutenant of the Tower that if Campion could be induced to go over to the Queen's religion, he should not only receive a pardon, but obtain "an office worth £100 by the year"; and when Campian was preparing to suffer, a like offer is said to have been made by Sir Francis Knollys.

A minister who wished Campion to join in prayer received this answer:—

"You and I are not of one religion. I pray you, therefore, content yourself, and leave me alone. I bar no one of prayer; but, for myself, I desire only them of the Household of Faith to pray with me, and, in my agony, I wish to know only One Creed."

The end was of the usual kind. The details of this tragedy were like those which had been done before and should so frequently be done after. The three sufferers were drawn on a hurdle to Tybourne; they were then hung and cut down alive. They were at once dismembered and disembowelled; their heads were taken off, and their bodies quartered, and these were first thrown into a caldron of boiling water, and afterwards smeared over with pitch, before being exposed on poles in different parts of London.

The following four verses, in modern spelling, are given of a rare and beautiful "Epitaph" by Henry Walpole:—

"His prison now the City of the King,
His rack and torture joys and heavenly bliss,
For men's reproach with angels he doth sing
A sacred song, which everlasting is.
For shame but short, and loss of small renown,
He purchased hath an ever-during crown.

"His quartered limbs shall join with joy again,
And rise a body brighter than the sun,
Your malice keen tormented him in vain,
For every wrench such glory hath him won.
And every drop of blood, which he did spend
Hath reap'd a joy which never shall have end.

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"His hurdle draws us with him to the Cross,
His speeches there provoke us for to die,
His death doth say this life is but a loss,
His martyred blood from heaven to us doth cry:
His first and last, and all conspire in this—
To show the way that leadeth us to bliss.

"Blessed be God, Which lent him so much grace,
Thankèd be Christ, Which blest this martyr so;
Happy is he, which seeth his Master's Face;
Cursèd all they that thought to work him woe:
Bounden be we to give eternal praise
To Jesu's Name, which such a man did raise."*

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* The original is reprinted *verbatim* in Dr. Jessopp's most interesting memoir of Henry Walpole, entitled "One Generation of a Norfolk House," pp. 106–110. London: 1879.

A melancholy incident relating to the Thimbleby family of Lincolnshire must now be recorded. Their ancestors had been seated at Pelham since the reign of Edward III., and were a knightly family of honour and good repute. One of them, in prison at Lincoln, A.D. 1581, for refusing to attend the new services, and for declining to receive at the Supper, desired greatly to see his young wife, likely soon to become a mother. His request was allowed by Thomas Cowper, the bishop of the diocese. But, as her name was amongst a list of those unfavourable to the "reformed" faction, when she was admitted to her husband's cell, she herself, under some order from authority, was actually detained by force. Either the shock of this act of perfidious inhumanity, or the frightful stench of the place, brought on sickness and premature labour; and, in her hour of weakness, in the presence of her helpless and distracted husband, she was cruelly denied by the gaoler the assistance of any matron. It seems probable that her husband, Gabriel Thimbleby, died in prison. Possibly a speedy death mercifully ended her own sufferings.

But to return to the North-West. In the early part of 1583, at the Sessions held before Chaderton, Bishop of Chester, in conjunction with John Byron, three old priests, Williamson, Hatton, and Bell, were indicted for high treason; and no less

than twenty-six persons were each fined two hundred and forty pounds because they had not attended the new services for at least twelve months. Of these one was a knight—Sir John Southworth, a most determined and noble confessor of the Faith, of whom another prelate, Grindal, could make nothing satisfactory to him—four were esquires, three were gentlemen, ten were priests, three were schoolmasters, and the rest yeomen, husbandmen, and labourers. Four women, though indicted, were not arraigned, and seven other women appear to have escaped.* Thirty-eight, however (including six women), were speedily lodged in Salford Gaol. The offence of each was that he or she conscientiously refused to have anything to do with the new religion, its obligations, its authors, or its authorities.

In the meantime the new prelates and the newly-made ministers, so soon as they were consecrated or ordained, appear to have sought out wives for themselves as a consolation in their loneliness. It must of course have been very depressing to have lived alone, year after year, in

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* "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. clxvii., No. 40. Dated *in dorso* January 22, 23, 1583.

out-of-the-way villages, with little to study but the "Martyrology" of Fox, Jewell's "Apology," and the two books of published "Homilies." Such reading was, no doubt, rather "painful" than profitable. Wives, therefore, when they could secure them, served to take up their attention, while the prattle of children amused them. It is astonishing, consequently, how successful they became in this very practical part of their duty. Dr. Cotton's lady of Salisbury presented him from time to time with no less than nineteen. The bishop's chapel was often turned into a nursery; the parson's wife was fruitful as the vine on the vicarage wall, and often more blessed with olive-branches than the neighbouring squire's or the parish constable's; bishops left their daughters handsome portions, often secured knighthood for their sons,* and the children of the clergy were in due course looked upon as respectable members of society.

In those days even the oldest prelates, though wanting in certain gifts, were bold and not bash-

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* Two of the sons of Sandys, Archbishop of York, were knighted, viz. Sir Edwin by Elizabeth, and Sir Miles. Each of these, though laymen, had been respectively made Prebendaries of York Minster for the sake of the endowments. The latter received the honour of knighthood in the first year of King James I.

ful. For example, Thomas Godwin,* already a widower, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and "aged and diseased, and lame of the gout," as Sir John Harington puts on record, married as his second spouse a widow from London, not one of the "ancient widows" already noticed, but one "livelier and right merrie." It reached the Queen's ears that this wrinkled and dilapidated old man, with one foot in the grave, had indeed wedded a girl of twenty; and Her Highness, invariably meditating on matrimony in some form or another, called him a "bigamist," and expressed the greatest indignation. Upon which the Earl of Bedford, who happened to be near and knew the lady, said merrily, and with much dry humour, "Madam, I know not how much the woman is above twenty; but I know that a son of hers is a little under forty."

But this rather marred than mended matters.

One other bystander remarked "*Majus peccatum habet.*"

Another, to the Queen's amusement—for it was the single topic always welcome—told methodically of three sorts of marriage. First, that of God's making, when Adam and Eve, two young

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* Consecrated Bishop of Bath, &c., at Lambeth, September 13, 1584.

folks, were coupled; secondly, of man's making, when one is old and another young, as Saint Joseph's marriage; and thirdly, of the Devil's making, when two old folks marry, not for comfort, but for covetousness, and such they said was Bishop Godwin's.*

In the autumn of 1584 Thomas Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, the last survivor in England of the ancient episcopate,—and a marked contrast to the amorous old gentleman just referred to,—after a close imprisonment of nearly a quarter of a century, four years of which were passed in Wisbeach Castle, passed to his rest and reward. He had seen sixty-eight summers, and had long suffered from the ague. No passing-bell was rung from the adjoining tower of St. Peter's Church, then in the hands of the new preachers. His life had been one continued series of trials ever since Elizabeth's accession.† At Wisbeach his lord-

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* "Brief View of the Church of England," by Sir J. Harington, pp. 114, 115. London: 1653.

† The bishop was placed there, at Lord Burghley's suggestion, in 1580.—"State Papers, Elizabeth," Addenda, vol. xxvii. No. 21. In Father Parsons' "Account of the Persecution" (p. 60, A.D. 1582), he describes the scandalous treatment which the imprisoned were then receiving; being deprived of all their books, and kept in separate rooms; not being allowed any intercourse whatsoever, except at table. The Bishop of Ely, as may be seen from a letter to the Privy Council from Carleton and Michel, the keepers of the Castle, "hath appointed a preacher unto the recusants, a

ship was insulted by the Protestants in the grossest and most infamous manner.* Trusty friends were sometimes enabled to let him know, wherever confined, of the downward course of events throughout the country, and of the miserable religious desolation existing—a desolation which he was so powerless to alter. The seasons came and went during his last imprisonment; but for him there had been little change. Seed-time and harvest were alike. During the winter the sea-mists, drifting landwards, almost always hung over and hid the Castle walls. Broad pools and patches of stagnant water, green with rank weeds, and wide marshes and sterile flats lay

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man of holy life, learned, and able to give an account of his doctrine strongly."—"State Papers, Domestic, Queen Elizabeth," vol. cxliii., No. 17. To have pestered them with the modern heresies, over and above their imprisonments, was adding insult to injury.

* It may be gathered from an original letter still remaining in the Record Office, written by a Catholic prisoner in the Tower in 1581, that the bishop was subject to an insult almost incredible. "Not many days since," the account runs, "an infamous woman, the tool of some ruffians, was introduced into the chamber of the Bishop of Lincoln (who remains still in prison at Wisbeach), and dared in the most shameless way to solicit to sin that most holy man, worn out as he is with cruel treatment. When the old man, with all his might, endeavoured to drive the impure beast from his cell, her evil instigators, who awaited the result, even threatened him with blows."—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cxlix. n. 61.

outspread all around for miles. The muddy river Nene was constantly overflowing its broken-down banks, so that the moat of the Castle frequently flooded the adjacent garden and orchard. Of foliage, save a few stunted willow-trees, there was little or none in sight; for when summer came round, the sun's heat soon parched up the rank grass in the courtyard, and withered the dandylion and snapdragon which grew upon its massive but dilapidated walls.* It was a dreary spot,† rife with the saddest memories; where,

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* "The building, which covered two acres of land, stood in the midst of four other acres, at the boundary of which was a strong high wall, and on the outside next the town was a ditch or moat forty feet wide; and there was no way to the Castle but by a drawbridge in the west front. . . . The great tower was the residence of the constable or governor. Underneath were dismal dark vaults for the confinement of prisoners, which made this tower sometimes be called the keep or dungeon. In this building was the great hall."—"Historical Account of the Ancient Town and Port of Wisbeach," by William Watson, Esq., F.S.A., pp. 123–129. Wisbeach: 1827.

† Father Weston thus writes concerning this prison:—"When we reached it [*i.e.* Wisbeach Castle] we were divided and sent into separate rooms, wherein we lived day and night under bolts and locks, excepting at the hours of dinner and supper, and half an hour before and after our meal, when we could breathe the air and walk about a little. This was a public prison, common to all the thieves and criminals, and situated within the enclosure of the bishop's palace. It stood upon a high terrace, and water filled a moat all around it. Everything, however, at that time was ruinous and dilapi-

during half a lifetime, several martyrs and confessors of the Faith continued to suffer in humility and patience, waiting for the breaking of a better day, doing God's will, and longing for their promised crown.*

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dated, particularly through the rapacity and avarice of the heretical prelates; who, not caring for posterity, and only mindful of their own convenience, had despoiled the building of its best material, selling the lead off the roof, the beams, the iron, and the glass, and thus abandoning the other parts to ruin and decay."—"Life of William Weston," p. 239. London: 1875.

* The Burials' Register contains only four words—"John Watson, doctor, sepultus"; and in this entry "John" is a mistake for "Thomas." There is no stone to mark his grave, nor any memorial whatsoever. As early as the year 1748, the Rev. W. Cole carefully searched for one, but in vain.—See Cole's MSS., Brit. Mus., vol. xviii. folio 90.—The present learned Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, courteously informs me that there is no portrait of his illustrious predecessor, either at Riseholme or Lincoln.

CHAPTER II.

The first prisoner sent to Wisbeach Castle for refusing to adopt the Reforming policy, was John Feckenham, O.S.B., the last Abbot of Westminster. He was a prelate of great learning, of most virtuous life, and of much kindness of heart. During Queen Mary's reign he is reported* to have frequently befriended the Lady Elizabeth; but when the latter came to the throne, and he found that she contemplated setting up a new religion, and becoming its Supreme Governess, he spoke out with the greatest plainness of language. Notwithstanding this, it is said that at her acces-

* See Anthony à Wood's "Athenæ Oxoniensis," vol. i. p. 222; and "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cxxxi. n. 48, and vol. cxliii. n. 17.

sion she felt disposed to offer him the vacant Archbishopric of Canterbury, if he would only take the Oath of Supremacy, and co-operate in making a new national religion; but this he firmly refused to do. Soon after this he had been sent to the Tower; then he was placed in the custody of Horne, Bishop of Winchester; subsequently he was sent back to the Tower by Elizabeth, then to the Marshalsea, and at last to Wisbeach, where he died in the twenty-seventh year of that Queen's reign, having thus been a prisoner for conscience' sake during the long period of more than a quarter of a century.*

Allusion has already been made to the cruelties practised on such prisoners. One of the most daring and impudent acts of the innovators was to provide a minister of the New Religion to preach at, and argue with, those in confinement at Wisbeach; and then make these poor sufferers pay his stipend and find him in food. Bishop Richard Cocks, apparently, was the ingenious gentleman who devised and carried out this brilliant idea; but, though one man may take a

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* The sin of which, in the eyes of Queen Elizabeth's Council, this noble Confessor, in conjunction with Heath, Watson, and Tunstall, had been guilty, was maintaining the independence of the spiritualty: nothing else. He refused to give to Cæsar the things of God.

horse to the trough, twenty cannot make it imbibe the water, and so in practical effect this beneficial scheme fell flat, and failed of its purpose, as the following letter so graphically sets forth :—

"The Lord Bishop hath appointed a preacher unto the recusants—a man of holy life, learned, and able to give an account of his doctrine strongly. The men restrained, before us both and others have been called divers times and as often required to hear the preacher, and abide the prayer; but they all with one voice generally, and after that every man particularly answering for himself, denied to allow either, saying that as they are not of our Church, so they will neither hear, pray, nor yet confer with any of us of any matters concerning religion." *

Even children at this period were not exempt from persecution. Four Lancashire youths of birth and rank, Worthingtons of Worthington, were seized and sorely tried, with a view of getting them to betray their relatives and friends.†

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* George Carleton and Humphrey Michell to the Privy Council.—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cxliii. n. 17.

† The account in the text, much abbreviated, is taken from the second part of the *Addenda* to Bridgewater's edition of John Gibbons' "Concertatio Ecclesiæ Cath. in

A pursuivant, accompanied by the under-sheriff of the county and twenty javelin-men, seized them at the house of their friend, Esquire Sankey of Great Sankey near Warrington, on February 12th, 1584. They were at once examined as to the whereabouts of their uncle, Father Thomas Worthington, a priest whose life had been marked by devotion and self-denial. They were asked when they had last seen him, when they had attended Mass, and where; but little information was obtained from them. The two eldest, therefore, (neither then sixteen years of age,) were taken before the Bishop of Chester and the Earl of Derby, but without any result. On their second examination the two younger were likewise brought up with their brothers. One of the former was not yet twelve years of age. The unusual nature of the proceedings attracted a crowd interested and attentive. It appears that on the appointed examination day the guards had intentionally kept the children without any food at all until the evening, when they were plied with wine, so as to half stupify them, and render them possibly more

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Anglia," &c. Trèves: 1594. See also, "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cxc. n. 25, dated "June 12, 1586"; "Prisoners in the Gate House"; and Strype's "Annals," vol. iii. p. 420.

talkative and probably easier to be dealt with and entrapped.

One of them at once complained to the Commissioners of this treatment.

"They had evidently intended to deprive me of my mind by giving me strong drink," he exclaimed; "but by God's goodness they have altogether failed, for my mind is quite clear, though my body be in sore pain. I am, therefore, unable to appear before your Honours as I should do."

They were all examined, however, on subjects of their religion, and every endeavour made to find out their uncle's whereabouts, and to make them betray their friends and criminate themselves.

Lord Derby, partly by threats, and partly by promises,—having offered to make the eldest youth his page of honour, if he would only consent to attend the new services,—was unable to obtain the information wanted, or to effect his desired object.

Nor was the Bishop more successful. Consequently these four children were at once imprisoned in Manchester; and told that as they were guilty of High Treason they would be duly punished for it. An officer of the Bishop, Bull by name, was commissioned by his lordship to take them in hand at once. They were then confined in the House of Correction. So, dragging

the eldest out of bed one morning, he administered to him, in his brothers' presence, a severe and cruel flogging with several ash-rods. But this was of no avail; neither he nor the others, as they declared, would go to the "services of the Calvinists." They were consequently taken thither and to sermons by force; but this policy only sickened them more. Neither threats nor bribes in the long run sufficed; and though the Bishop attempted to bribe them to conform, he utterly failed. They were true to their fathers' Faith; and two of them, it appears, went abroad and were subsequently ordained.

Prior to that event, however, they seem to have been again secured by the authorities in London, on the plea that they were about to be sent abroad by their relations to be educated and made priests. Their uncle was taken by Topcliffe at Islington,* who reported him to Burghley and the Privy Council to have been eminently "wilful, perverse, and arrogant." This, of course, was the character given to all who were resolute in declining to co-operate with the innovators,—as regards the upper classes at that period only a considerable minority.

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* Thomas Worthington was taken at the house of Mr. Richard à Wood, of Islington, an ancestor of the celebrated historian of the University of Oxford.

At the Visitation of Corringham in Lincolnshire on the 8th of April 1566, three altar-stones had been taken down, two of which were used as pavement for the church, and the other was sold to Mr. Topcliffe. This person, it appears, is the "Richard Topcliffe" just referred to, who so frightfully persecuted the "recusants" and "seminary priests." He belonged, apparently, to an old family of the country,* and had himself married a daughter of Sir Edward Willoughby. In the female line he was descended from the ancient Yorkshire families of Waterton and Fairfax. He had been brought up a Catholic, and had not only apostatized, but become one of the cruellest and most shameful persecutors, and a rack-master. It is melancholy enough to see the "new men," ready tools of the authorities, taking an active part in overthrowing the Old Religion; but ignorance and fanaticism often go hand-in-hand, and when self-seeking is a man's sole aim, little good ensues: but here was a case in which a Lincolnshire gentleman of blood and family, having renounced the Faith of his fathers, became, step by step, the supple tool of his inferiors, and at last a merciless, degraded, and disgraced ruffian.

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* "English Church Furniture," &c., edited by E. Peacock, F.S.A., p. 62. London: 1866.

Bishops Cocks of Ely, Berkeley of Bath, and Davies of St. David's, had died in 1581; Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, two years afterwards; Watson of Winchester in 1584; Barnes, Bishop of Durham,* in 1587; and Sandys, Archbishop of York, in 1588. Thus the leading and more active innovators, one after another, were called away to their last account. The persons who succeeded them were, as a rule, singularly common-place in their characters. The single theologian of the

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* The following account of this man, who was consecrated Suffragan Bishop of Nottingham by Thomas Young, Archbishop of York, on March 9, 1567, translated to Carlisle in 1570, and to Durham in 1577, and died August 24th, 1587, is given by a contemporary:—"Richard Barnes, an *apostata* priest, twice married, a common drunkard, Bishop of Durham, accustomed to drink seven times every meal, and as many between meals, every draught containing a pint; and in his Public Consistory to offenders, accustomed to use most obscene and filthy words, fell at length with intemperance into a fever, and so into a frenzy. One night as he was about to rise out of his bed, he fell out of his bed, and was like to have broken his neck; but for that time and with great difficulty recovered. Soon after, his disease brought him to his last exigent, when, as past speech, Toby Matthew, willing him in sign of his faith to hold up his hands, he always held his fingers to his mouth, which one, Ralph Hilton, his base [born] son, marking [it], swore, and said Mr. Dean did mistake his father, for that his finger to his mouth did desire nothing but drink. And so desperately he died, and was buried the next night at midnight."—"An Ancient Editor's Note-book," MS., Stonyhurst College.

Reformation-era, John Jewell, had not made any great impression at Salisbury, where the ordinary religious desolation, so current generally, was likewise experienced.

The poor complained constantly of the unjust manner in which they were oppressed, and of the difficulty in keeping body and soul together. Petty tyranny amongst inferior officials was rampant; for which, too frequently, there was neither remedy nor redress.

Anciently the great nobles had stood between the Crown and the people; so that while the former could not oppress those under them, the latter were in no great danger of being oppressed, for their local lord was their patron, friend, and protector. The natural and proper rights of all classes were thus safe from the power of any single passionate or wayward ruler. For generations the influence and independence of the greater noblemen, supported by their considerable wealth, arising from broad lands, and the personal devotion of their faithful retainers, had always been a valuable check upon regal tyranny. Dukes and earls in their own localities had long been as little kings. Standing alone, they were strong; when in combination with others they were stronger. When, however, it was seen how under Henry VIII. such exalted and powerful noblemen had been so easily ruined and brought to the

block by this tyrant, the nobility in general, as a class or "estate," began to lose their ancient legitimate prestige; the local poor their natural protectors; and thus regal tyranny,* fostered by a few needy adventurers without either conscience or principle, became practically unchecked and rampant in their revolutionary changes, arbitrary deeds, and cruel punishments.

Two boys of the town of Wisbeach, born of poor parents, likewise suffered, Thomas and George Fisher by name. They had been admitted to the Castle to attend upon the prisoners as servitors. Naturally clever and observant, by degrees they each became greatly influenced by what they heard and saw. The Old Religion, as so many persons quietly and privately maintained, was a

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* As Canon Barry remarked in his recent "Lectures on the Reformation":—"From 1485 onwards the Royal power in England gradually became despotic under form of law. The Tudor despotism was a despotism exercised as it were with the consent of the people. They began to look at the King as having a sacred character; they accepted him as a centre of national unity, and came to reverence him as 'the Lord's anointed.' The Royal power became a very formidable thing. The same thing occurred in other parts of Europe, especially in France, Germany, and Spain. Monarchical power was on the increase, and rallied round it a strong national spirit everywhere. As yet it was England in alliance with the Papal power, or observing an armed neutrality. But a conflict was at any moment likely." (A.D. 1879.)

strong and remarkable contrast to the New, and though these youths had been brought up under the latter, in no long time they became sincerely attached to the former; and, at their own request, were carefully instructed in its tenets and duties. This being reported to the Governor, offended him greatly, who, on a certain day when a sermon was to be preached in the parish church "by a painful and weighty minister," commanded them both, as a test, to be present at its delivery. But, in respectful language, they asked to be excused. They would rather not go. They had recently learned what the religion of their fathers was, and, if they might be allowed to make choice, they preferred it to that now set up. The Governor became furious. Was ever such insolence and heresy known, and from two boyish knaves? As a punishment they were stripped to the waist, and publicly flogged in the market-place in the presence of a large concourse of people, and then put into irons. Being subsequently set free, the eldest escaped abroad, and became a student at the College at Douay. But the younger, on a certain occasion, was found serving one of the old priests at Mass, and was imprisoned in company with some of the worst and most depraved criminals. At length he was brought to trial, accused of being an ignorant recusant, and upbraided by the magistrates for being so foolish and for

bringing so much misery upon himself and his parents.

"It is true that I am very ignorant about many things," he replied, "but of this one thing I am quite certain, notwithstanding my ignorance, that the Catholic Faith is the only Faith for salvation, and that it is a deal older, by many centuries, than your new religion."

"How can you, an ignorant boy, know which is the oldest religion, or anything about it?" asked the magistrate.

"Why, in this way, sir," the youth replied; "your own chroniclers, your own ministers, admit as much. Holinshead, who must have known, says so."

The magistrate denied that the writer in question had admitted anything of the sort. "You lie, sirrah!"

Upon this the youth triumphantly drew out from his breast pocket a single leaf of the "Chronicles" of Holinshead, and presented it to the official.

It contained a description of the coming hither of St. Augustine, with litanies, Catholic prayers, silver cross, and pictured banner, and had been given to him by one of the prisoners at Wisbeach, as evidence of the antiquity of the Old Religion,—a leaf which might be judiciously produced when it was required. The youth himself, being

poor and unable to pay fines, appears to have been dismissed with a warning.

In the year 1576 the Commons had petitioned the Queen "to amend the discipline of the Church," which had fallen into a state of great uncertainty and laxness. In fact nothing could well have been worse than it was. The disorganization in every diocese was complete and perfect. Everybody wished to govern, and declined to obey. Presbyters looked upon themselves as rulers, called synods, appointed fast-days, and ordained other presbyters.* In fact every one did as he liked. The ecclesiastical courts were sinks of jobbery and iniquity, farmed by persons who paid for their offices,—handing over a yearly sum to the authorities who had let them out to the highest bidder,—and then worked them to their own profit and advantage.

The Queen, in reply to the Petition, informed those who had signed it that the bishops had

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* Independent synods had been set up to which only the "elect" were summoned; in various counties classes and gatherings for the exposition of Scripture and prayer had been formed; "Ordination," so-called, by presbyters had been given to persons who were supposed to own special gifts of speech; and unauthorized fast-days were appointed, wholly independent of the Queen's bishops.—See Strype's "Life of Whitgift," vol. iii. pp. 244–256, and the "Articles" exhibited against Thomas Cartwright.

been directed to examine the matter, and that if they failed to do their duty in a reasonable period she would speedily supply the want and rectify the evil by her own spiritual supremacy. But nothing had been done.

On one occasion, in 1577—to pass from the ailments of the ministers to those of the Supreme Governess—the Queen suffered so acutely from tooth-ache, that she believed herself to have been bewitched. This conviction grew in force from the fact that some representations or images of Her Majesty, Cecil, and Walsingham, had been recently found (or were said to have been found) concealed in the house of an ancient priest who sojourned at Islington; while Dr. Dee's tuition had made her singularly superstitious. This poor innocent priest was believed to have been practising "malign magic"; for the ordinary royal physicians, instead of relieving their patient, entered into a violent controversy as to what potions ought to be given, and practically did nothing. Perhaps these physicians were also bewitched. Her Majesty's pains and aches by consequence continued, and even grew in violence, so that the Lords of the Council thought it their duty to interfere and take the matter in hand. A foreign doctor, Fenatus by name, had been highly recommended to them by some of the Protestant exiles; but the Queen mistrusted all foreigners, and

Walsingham feared the man might turn out to be "possibly a Jew or even a Papist." So they bade him write a prescription without even seeing the royal patient. This, of course, was a difficult undertaking. Howsoever, after having penned a long Latin letter, very devout, but rather wordy, explaining his own entire unworthiness to treat so mighty a Queen for the tooth-ache, he "drew a bow at a venture," and reasonably enough recommended a fomentation of narcotic herbs, which, however, did no good at all. The alternative which he had wisely suggested, and which certainly went to the root of the matter, was to have the tooth drawn. But to this the Queen would not submit. She could not abide the pain. Though in her name the Rack and the Little Ease were in constant use on "Seminaries," yet she herself quaked and sickened at the very sight of a steel forceps. Her heart, as it seemed, came up into her mouth. However, in order to brace up her nerves, Aylmer, Bishop of London, at the Council-board, told her that "although he was an old man and had not many teeth to spare, she could see a practical experiment upon himself, if she thought well," and forthwith he bade the surgeon take out one of his own teeth in the Queen's presence. This having been done "without much blooding and no cries," the Queen in turn timorously submitted to a like operation,

and so was relieved. The "witchcraft" was thus defeated.

Year by year throughout her reign, the Queen as a matter of pleasure and recreation visited different parts of the country, and was received with great state and extravagant pomp by the nobility and gentry. Many of them seriously crippled themselves by the outlay necessary for such entertainments, and greatly impoverished their estates in so receiving her. She came with her Court and servants, whom her chief allies and gracious people of rank were likewise expected to entertain; and she always looked for special amusements, masques, bear-baiting, tiresome speeches full of flattery, morris-dancing, hunting, and hawking. Sometimes no less than two hundred servants accompanied her. Lord Leicester entertained her at Kenilworth; Sir Henry Lee at Quarrendon near Aylesbury; and from time to time the chief nobility and gentlepeople of every county. When she left their houses, she expected to receive presents of money, jewellery, and other valuable and acceptable gifts. The Queen on one occasion took Berkeley Castle in her progress. During her stay no less than twenty-seven stags of a rare race of red deer were killed, while many others were "stolen and havocked," which so annoyed Lord Berkeley, that he actually there and then disparked the place. The Queen, on

hearing of this, counselled his lordship to be more prudent in what he said and did in the future; informing him that Lord Leicester liked the situation of his family Castle very much, and hinted that, if he was not more careful, he might lose it. The morality of such a contemplated robbery was quite in accordance with this autocratic woman's morality in general.

At Euston in Norfolk the Queen was most hospitably entertained by a young esquire named Edward Rookwood (who had lately been married), at his pleasant mansion near Thetford, in August of the year 1578. His residence was of no great size, and, in selecting it as a resting-place, the Queen passed over several large mansions near. This may have been for a purpose. When Her Majesty was about to leave, she of course thanked Rookwood for his reception of her—she could have done nothing less—and gave him her hand to kiss. But the Earl of Sussex, Her Majesty's Chamberlain, having learnt that he had been excommunicated for "papistrie," called him forward and rated him with bitterness and violence.* His

* Richard Topcliffe, the rack-master and official torturer, has left a record of these events, the spelling of which I have ventured to put into modern shape:—"This Rookwood is a Papist of kind newly crept out of his late wardship. Her Majesty, by some means I know not, was lodged at his

lordship asked Rookwood how he who, because of his religion, was wholly unfit to accompany any Christian person, and was fitter to be put into a pair of stocks, had dared to come into the Queen's "reall presence." Rookwood was then ordered out of the room, and at Norwich was committed to prison. An oaken image of the Blessed Virgin, which had been taken down from the lady-altar of a neighbouring church, and had

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house, Euston, far unmeet for Her Highness, but fitter for the blackguard; nevertheless (the gentleman brought into Her Majesty's presence by like device), Her Excellent Majesty gave to Rookwood ordinary thanks for his bad house, and her fair hand to kiss; after which it was braved at. But my Lord Chamberlain nobly and gravely understanding that Rookwood was excommunicated for Papistry, called him before him; demanded of him how he durst to attempt her real presence, he, unfit to accompany any Christian person; forthwith said he was fitter for a pair of stocks, commanded him out of the Court, and yet to attend her Council's pleasure; and at Norwich he was committed. And to decypher the gentleman to the full (a piece of plate being missed in the Court, and searched for in his hay-house), in the hay-rick such an image of Our Lady was there found as for greatness, for gayness, and workmanship I did never see a match; and after a sort of country-dance ended in Her Majesty's sight, the idol was set behind the people who avoided. She rather seemed a beast raised upon a sudden from hell by conjuring, than the picture for whom it had been so often and long abused. Her Majesty commanded it to the fire, which in her sight by the country folks was quickly done, to her content, and unspeakable joy of everyone, but some one or two who had sucked of the idol's poisoned milk."—"Lodge," vol. ii. p. 186.

been carefully secreted in a hay-loft, was accidentally discovered by some of the Court servants. The Queen expressed her horror at the "sight of such a wicked idol"; which was burnt on the village-green in her presence and with her marked approbation.

As she journeyed from place to place, every endeavour was made to keep the poor, the poverty-stricken, and the diseased out of her sight. If they came too near her moving retinue, they were summarily punished with great and sharp severity. It was often her custom, however, to speak condescendingly and freely with her people, from whom by close questioning and most pertinent inquiries—having beckoned them to her presence—she frequently found out the true state of the locality. The old religious houses were in ruins, their lands ill-cultivated. Beggars abounded, and so infested some parts of the country—Bernewode forest in Buckinghamshire, and that of Charnewode in Leicestershire, for example—that travelling was dangerous. Moreover, the churches*

* "The parish churches themselves—those amazing monuments of early piety, built by men who themselves lived in clay hovels, while they lavished their taste, their labour, and their wealth, on 'the House of God'—were still dissolving in ruin."—"History of England," by J. A. Froude, Reign of Elizabeth, vol. ii. p. 93.

everywhere, not only all but empty or ill-attended and utterly uncared-for, were going steadily to ruin.

Anciently, as no one can deny, the parish church was looked upon with affection as the common home of all. By right of the new birth at the font, every one was equal in the sight of God when kneeling at Mass, or worshipping at Evensong, whether knight or knave, earl or husbandman. Low and squat were the oak-bound cottages of wattle* and thatch which clustered together picturesquely in remote spots round spire or tower; and, sheltered by ancient trees, were the humble but well-loved homes of a people blessed in the natural order, and marvellously sanctified by gifts of grace. But there was one building, in every such village, of which, howsoever simple in itself, the form and outline were the seemliest for its sacred purpose that mind could plan or local hand design. Of it, the stones had been reverently hewn and chiselled, the window-tracery artfully drawn out and carved, the roof of oak, the font and altar made of the best that could be gotten, and

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* "Wattle," a composition of mortar, mud, and straw, of which cottage walls in Elizabeth's time were commonly built. In numbers of villages at the present day a similar material is largely used, and in some parts still bears the same name. In other parts it is termed "watchyt."

duly blessed in God's Holy Name. The church was the chief building of the village. In such humble temples the glowing prophecies of an elder dispensation had their literal fulfilment; for while the pine-tree and the box-tree beautified the place of God's sanctuary, there too the realities of the Gospel perfectly fulfilled the types of the law. The Daily Sacrifice was ever offered, both for quick and dead. The Lamb of God took away the sins of the world.

Day by day and week by week the people thus blessed came to worship. They were all of One Faith and one mind. Year by year children were born and new-born, young men and maidens were united in marriage, the sick were anointed, the suffering cared for; and in due course the grave-yard, across which the shadow of tower or spire crept slowly, received the bodies of those who had done their work and run their race, and, sleeping in Christ, were there laid up for the resurrection-morning.

When these poor and humble folks died, they seldom forgot the church or its needs, but by testamentary disposition directly evidenced their faith and charity.* The husbandman often bequeathed

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* Having been recently permitted to examine at leisure the original MS. Wills of certain parts of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, the author, who read portions of several

something towards maintaining the lamp before the Rood, over and above the sum apportioned for his own mortuary mass and month's-mind. Kneeling, from time to time, before the outstretched arms of his dying Redeemer, he had learnt, more exactly than sermon could ever inform him, of the deep meaning of those simple words of the Belief—"Jesus Christ was Crucified"—and of his merciful Lord's undying love. Those in the ranks of yeomen or merchants often gave, in addition, six shillings and eightpence, or thirteen shillings and fourpence for the church, a suit of vestments or silver *pax* for some special altar, twelve or twenty pounds of wax for the choir lights or Paschal taper, and always a settled sum for funeral doles to their poorer neighbours. No one went to an open grave without saying a prayer for the dead person's soul. The rich from moated mansion or crenellated castle gave in proportion to their abundance; so that the treasures of the Lord's House, even in the poorest villages, steadily increasing, were both worthy of the respective givers and of the object.

But, at the time at which Queen Elizabeth made her Progresses throughout the land, all this

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hundreds, from the year 1530 downwards, is confident of the accuracy of his statements in the text.

had been changed, and so changed that men marvelled how such a radical and startling change could have been accomplished in little more than a single generation.

Sometimes unjust persecution works its own cure. Here, however, it had been so systematic, relentless,* and determined that most of those who had stood forward to resist innovation,—homeless, ruined, and outlawed,—were swept away by the unchecked tide of Change, which, so to speak, flooded and overwhelmed the land.

In the year 1585 no less than seventy-two priests were banished, and from a calculation made from various Returns to the Privy Council of certain dioceses, there could not have been less than four hundred and fifty about that period still in prison.† What to do with them greatly

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* "Many Catholics have fled the realm; others live in obscure, unknown places by contrary names. Some commend themselves prisoners to noblemen, whereof one so prisoner, his patience, demeanour, and purity of life were such that the lady of the said house said to some secret friends of hers, 'If all Papists lived so well as my lord's prisoner did, Protestants must needs be in an ill state towards God."—"An Ancient Editor's Note-book," MS., Stonyhurst College.

† See, amongst other documents, "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. clxxviii. n. 72; vol. cxc. n. 44; vol. cxciii. n. 67; vol. cxcix. n. 15; and vol. ccii. n. 61, &c. &c. What these prisons were has been most forcibly stated by Canon Raine of York:—"It is impossible to speak in terms of too strong reprobation of the state of the northern prisons in

puzzled the authorities. Some one—evidently a person of wisdom and foresight—had prepared a written suggestion which was no doubt read, and which, still preserved amongst the State Papers, is headed "The Means to Stay the Declining in Religion." It stands thus:—

"*Remedies for the Restrained.*—The execution of them, as Experience hath showed, in respect

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the seventeenth century, and of the conduct of their keepers. They were dens of iniquity and horror, in which men and women herded together indiscriminately . . . Some of them had no light and no ventilation; several were partly under water whenever there was a flood. The number of prisoners who died in gaol during this century is positively startling. And how could they live in such places, where they were treated worse than savages themselves? The ordinary conveniences and necessaries of life were denied to them. They were at the mercy of the gaolers for their food and for everything they possessed. They had the meanest fare at the most exorbitant price. If they resisted, there were irons and screws that compelled them to be silent. There was also the greatest inequality and injustice in the treatment of the prisoners. Those that had money had many indulgences. They were allowed to go to places of amusement without the walls of the gaol, and some were even permitted to lodge beyond the precincts, subjected only to some trifling surveillance. Peter Prison in York and the hold in Ousebridge were a disgrace to any civilised country. The cells in the latter place would almost have rivalled the notorious Black Hole. Air, light, and ventilation were absent, and the waters of the river rushed in when they were above their usual level."—"Depositions from the Castle of York relating to Offences committed in the Northern Counties," &c., Surtees' Society Publications, A.D. 1861.

of their constancy (or rather obstinacy) moveth many to compassion, and draweth some to affect their religion, upon conceit that such an extraordinary contempt of death cannot but proceed from above; whereby many have fallen away.

"And, therefore, it is a convenient thing to be considered whether it were not convenient that some other remedy were put in execution. And in case the execution of them shall not be thought the best course, then it is to be considered what other way were fit to be held with them.

"There are of these Seminaries two sorts, some learned and politic withal, and of great persuasion; others simple, having neither zeal, wit, nor learning.

"For the first, they are to be sent to Wisbech, or some such-like place, where they may be under honest keeping, and be restrained from access and intelligence; for that being banished, they might do a great deal of harm.

"For the second, they may be banished, as others before, upon penalty to be executed if they return.

"Such as were banished and are returned are to be presently executed."*

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* "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cxcv. n. 114. The number of poor recusants was so great that at one sessions

This document, by whomsoever written, was thought to be of so much importance, and of such practical value that, as Sir Francis Walsingham wrote to his ally and friend Phillipps, its suggestions were exactly adopted by the Council. Here is the letter* :—

"My lords do mean to take order with the seminary priests by banishment of some, executing of others, and by committing the rest to Wisbech, or some such-like place, under some honest keeper. I have thought good to send you a register of their names; to the end you may confer with the party you wot of, and to desire him to set down their intentions to do harm in their several kinds.

"I take it there will be found very few of them fit to do good. And so I commit you to God. At Barnes, the 25th December 1586.

"Your loving Friend,

"FRA. WALSINGHAM."

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in Hampshire no less than four hundred were presented as offenders against the law; while in the north-west county of Lancaster six hundred were presented (see Strype's "Annals," vol. iii. p. 478, Appendix 98). Thomas Cowper, Bishop of Winchester (A.D. 1584) suggested to the Council that one or two hundred "lustie men well able to labour" might be sent to Flanders as pioneers and workmen for the army (*ibid.* 169).

* Cotton MSS., Brit. Museum, Caligula, C. ix. f. 566.

In what way "order was taken" may be learnt with exactness from the following letter,* preserved amongst the State Papers, evidently from the pen of one who was extremely well informed:—

"They lately threatened Mr. Sherwin, a priest, with renewed tortures, and then to execute him and his companions; but he, preferring a present death to longer life, was not at all dismayed by their threats.

"We shall, I hope, very shortly learn what will become of us. We all indeed greatly desire to pay the debt of Nature at once, rather than to languish on by a daily death. However, there is no one here who does not earnestly pray our Lord Jesus Christ to grant His aid, whereby to render us worthy to suffer for His glory all torments and tortures, nay, even death itself, otherwise so bitter to Nature, rather than to offend the Divine Majesty in the least degree contrary to each one's conscience.

"It is, I think, patent and a known fact to many, that some of our afflicted ones have endured the most terrible tortures, than which, on account of their excessive torments, death itself

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* This is believed to be from the pen of the Rev. Edward Rishton. The original is in Latin.—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, 1581," vol. cxlix. n. 61.

is far preferable, constantly and willingly ere they would consent to the most abominable crime (*i.e.* apostacy). Of which things there are certain living witnesses, especially Luke Kirby and Thomas Cottam, two venerable priests, who were subjected to a certain iron instrument of torture called in English the 'Scavenger's Daughter,' enduring this most bitter torture for an entire hour or more. Others—namely, the Reverend Mr. Skinner and Mr. Briant, twice; Mr. Johnson, indeed, but once—were cruelly tortured on the rack, attended with the most exquisite sufferings. Mr. Alart lay stretched upon it for three hours in torture; but beyond this, or at least more severely for that time, he was not tortured. And after the same manner they dealt with a portion of the rest of his companions, not without some great attempts to bring them to a compliance being made.

"Some were thrust down into a certain underground dungeon, very deep, and being shut in on every side, involved in the densest darkness. Amongst these were Johnson, Bristow, and Brian, all of them priests, some of whom spent two entire months in this chamber of horrors. As for the others, all of them, together with your Superior, were thrust into certain obscure and dark corners, deprived of hope and assistance, without beds or other necessaries of any

kind. Thus they dealt with Stanislaus Bristow and the others. The greater portion of them from this time are confined separately in squalid and dismal cells, where they are not allowed at any time to see any one, much less to speak with a friend.

"Mr. Brian, of whom I spoke before, was for some days worn out, and well-nigh killed with hunger. At length, for the greater increase of his pain, he was most atrociously tortured by needles being violently thrust under his nails. (Ah, miser!)

"By these things which are written, most dear brothers in Christ, it is well known what, and what kind of tortures the sons of God, and the true servants of Christ, patiently endure for their firm defence of the orthodox Faith; and should it be required of them, are ready willingly to undergo still greater.

"This only thing we implore of His mercy, that He will of His goodness grant us patience and perseverance even to the end. Which that we may the more speedily obtain, we earnestly implore your prayers for us, and the more so as we are not without some apprehension, seeing that the Prefect of the Tower yesterday, and again to-day, was summoned to the Court, in order that, as we believe, he might be informed with certainty what is decided upon about us."

The cases here referred to by Mr. Rishton were only ordinary examples of what was being continually carried out by the authorities. Amongst the State Papers, document after document has come to light showing the artful malignity, the cruelty, as well as the perseverance of the persecuting and triumphant faction. Although in ordinary histories of this period little or no reference is made to such acts; yet no adequate conception of the true state of affairs can be had without some study of the various records of these odious barbarities.

Throughout this Queen's reign there were not wanting occasional tokens, mysterious, supernatural, and, as some would say, in a measure miraculous,*—of the grave displeasure of the

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* On the other hand, to some of those who suffered, singular tokens of the Almighty's favour were graciously given. For example, the Rev. Stephen Rousham, who was executed at Gloucester in 1587, was thus singularly favoured. He had been banished, but had returned, and of him "An Ancient Editor's Note-book" gives the following particulars:—"A man of singular perfection, he had in his lifetime many heavenly visions, as great lights in windows and places where he was alone, and sometimes with others. His crown of martyrdom [was] showed him most gloriously, being yet a minister, and in schism. Afterwards a priest and in prison, God the Father, Christ our Saviour, our Blessed Lady, glorious souls of Saints, full often appeared unto him, leaving behind them such odoriferous smells, and

Almighty with the once Christian people of this country. A strange sign, which none could explain nor account for, here; a gloomy and mysterious prediction there; a sharp punishment by some unknown and fatal disease in another quarter, by which, with no preparation, numbers were hurried away to the particular judgment-seat of their Maker; a solemn warning, of which few could mistake the purport, was from time to time faced and noticed. But these supernatural interventions were too often passed by and disregarded. When, as was the case, Misbelief had eaten into the very heart of the nation, such signs and tokens were either despised or laughed at. The old and authorized teachers had been set in a corner; while the whole multitude, ever seeking after what they called "the Truth," and never finding it, drearily brayed and fondly babbled over things sacred, hearing nothing but the discordant voices of angry controversialists in perpetual din and dismal contest. No one learnt;

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sometimes lasting many hours with him, that for the space of one day and a half he thought himself in Heaven, his joys were so great and strange. This heavenly company had divers speeches with him in their several appearances to him, which he would not utter, neither did he reveal this but a little before his martyrdom to a dear worshipful friend, after a long visit to him."—"Records of the English Province," vol. iv. p. 340. London: 1878.

few obeyed. Everyone taught; all sought to be guides. Those who then made up the common herd—each one for himself—thus rode to the devil on his own hobby and by his own road.

Of such supernatural warnings a few examples shall now be provided. To the fools who say in their heart, There is no God, they will be as foolishness; to the Catholic, perhaps, not unworthy of note.

Within two years of the Queen's accession an occurrence had taken place which caused an unusual stir in Wales. The record of it is simple enough, and may easily be recounted. An ash-tree, it appears, had been blown down during a severe and destructive storm which passed over the park of Sir Thomas Stradling at St. Donat's in Glamorganshire. When certain people came to examine that portion of the trunk which was thoroughly split up, they found within it, much to their consternation and awe, a strange representation of a distinct and plainly-defined Cross.* Some persons who first examined it, confidently declared that its appearance was a token of the

* In some editions of Archdeacon Harpsfield's "Dialogi Sex," &c., may be found a rare plate of this miraculous Cross. The volume in quarto was first published at Antwerp in 1573; other issues of it were made later: some, however, without the engraving.

Almighty's wrath; and that it plainly indicated that many storms would be experienced by the nation if those doctrines which the Cross symbolized were cast out and abolished. The few who first witnessed the portent, for such it was regarded, spread the above opinion throughout their respective villages, which led hundreds of persons from all the adjacent places to come in crowds to look upon it. When it was seen, the people were overcome with terror. God Almighty, they said, would punish them all if they took to the New Religion. On this point controversies arose; and the excitement and interest so increased that the Queen's Privy Council, at Cecil's suggestion, felt called upon to consider what should be done. The people were in a ferment. Sir Roger Vaughan and Esquire Edward Lewis, of the county of Glamorgan, were consequently formally commissioned to make special inquiries with regard to this "Cross of St. Donat's." They did so at once; but without any special result, though they sent up to the Council at Richmond several curious depositions of eye-witnesses and others on the subject—which leave little doubt as to the fact.* The general impression amongst the populace was that the shameful destruction

* "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. xvii., A.D. 1561.

of the crosses in churches and churchyards, which had again taken place, was thus solemnly condemned by this impressive portent.

A prophecy, long ago fulfilled, is one of the points of the following notice. The restoration of Glastonbury Abbey is by no means so improbable as our forefathers may have supposed.

An old monk of Glastonbury, Austin Ringwode,* who, having the fear of God before his eyes, though turned out from his sacred home, dwelt in a cottage no great distance from it,† and through many long years, observing without relaxation his old rule, constantly interceded with God for his miserable and afflicted countrymen. He lived under the spiritual direction of Father Bridgewater, in the greatest retirement and on the sparest diet; gave himself up constantly to prayer, self-denial, and fasting; and, in his later years, was favoured with celestial visions of a

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* He is alluded to, as is also his prediction, in a tract, "A True Relation of Master Austin Ringwode," &c., published in the year 1652, in London, in which the prophecy is assumed to have been fulfilled by the Civil War. The Rev. William Cole, on visiting Glastonbury in the eighteenth century, read the inscription upon his grave-stone. See also Harleian MSS., Brit. Museum, No. 6,998, fol. 53.

† Certain other of the old monks continued to live within sight of the abbey walls, and to observe their rule as far as possible. One monk, who had secured certain relics of the abbey, died at a great age.

most consoling nature. To some friends who went to render him assistance when he was smitten down with a sore plague, he predicted that "many woeful troubles" would "fall upon the people, because of their sins"; that "the lands would be untilled for divers years, and that a bloody war" would overtake the country as a punishment. He, furthermore, averred that some of those then living would not die until they had beheld these portents. He said, moreover, that "the abbey would be one day repaired and rebuilt for the like worship which had ceased, and that then peace and plenty would for long time abound." Ringwode died in the winter of 1587, and was buried at Glastonbury.

A mysterious kind of plague that swept off many persons of rank and birth at Oxford, is allowed by certain writers on both sides to have been a judgment from Heaven, and a warning to the innovators and persecutors to desist from their unhallowed work.

This warning was made in the case of the memorable trial of Roland Jenks, a Catholic bookseller in Oxford,* who, for speaking some

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* The above account, with the authorities for its statements in detail, is given from the narrative of the pious and accomplished Bishop of Debra.

words against the Queen's Religion, was condemned, in the Assizes held at Oxford in July 1577, to have his ears nailed to the pillory, and to deliver himself by cutting them off with his own hands, which sentence was no sooner passed when immediately upon the spot a strange, mortal distemper, the like of which, as to its symptoms, has never been heard of before or since, fell upon the judges, justices on the bench, sheriffs, jurymen, and hundreds of others that were present at the trial, and carried them off in a very short time. Let us hear Mr. Anthony à Wood, the well-known and accurate historian of the University of Oxford, whose account of this history is on record.* His words, translated from the Latin, are as follows:—

"It was ordered, therefore, in the Convocation held on the 1st of May 1577, that the criminal, Roland Jenks, should immediately be apprehended; and being put into irons, should be sent up in order to be examined before the Chancellor of the University and the Queen's Council. In the meantime, all his goods are seized, and in his house are found bulls of popes, and libels reflecting upon Her Majesty. He was examined at London, in presence of the persons aforesaid,

* "Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis," i. p. 294.

and then was sent back to Oxford, there to be kept in prison till the next assizes, which began on the 4th of July, in the old hall in the castle yard, and lasted for two days.

"He was brought to the bar, and was arraigned for high crimes and misdemeanors; and, being found guilty, was condemned by a sentence in some manner capital, for he was to lose his ears. At which time (although my soul dreads almost to relate it) so sudden a Plague invaded the men that were present (the great crowd of people, the violent heat of the summer, and the stench of the prisoners, all conspiring together, and perhaps also a poisonous exhalation breaking suddenly at the same time out of the earth), that you might say Death itself sat on the bench, and by her definitive sentence put an end to all the causes. For great numbers immediately dying upon the spot, others struck with death hastened out of the Court as fast as they could, to die within a very few hours. A mournful ditty was shortly after published on this subject by a young university-man, which, for brevity sake, I shall omit. But it may not be amiss to set down the names of the persons of greatest note who were seized by that plague, and breathed out their souls. These were Sir Robert Bell, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Nicholas Barham, sergeant-at-law, both great enemies of the Popish

religion. . . . To the above-named must be added Sir Robert Doyley, the high sheriff of Oxford; Mr. Hart, his deputy; Sir William Babington; Messieurs Doyley, Wenman, Danvers, Fettyplace, and Harcourt, justices of the peace; Kirby, Greenwood, Nash, and Foster, gentlemen; to whom are to be joined, to say nothing of others, almost all the jurymen, who died within two days."

Anthony à Wood adds, out of the Register of Merton College, the following account of the symptoms of this strange disease:—

"Some getting out of bed (agitated with I know not what fury from their distemper and pain), beat and drive from them their keepers with sticks; others run about the yards and streets like madmen; others jump head foremost into deep waters. The sick labour with a most violent pain, both of the head and stomach: they are taken with a frenzy; are deprived of their understanding, memory, sight, hearing, and other senses. As the disease increases, they take nothing; they get no sleep; they suffer none to tend or keep them; they are always wonderfully strong and robust, even in death itself; no complexion or constitution is spared; but the choleric are more particularly attacked by this evil, of which the physicians can neither find the cause nor cure. The stronger the person is, the sooner

he dies. Women are not seized by it, nor the poor, neither does anyone catch it that takes care of the sick, or visits them. But as this disease was strangely violent, so it was but of a short continuance; for within a month it was over." So far the Merton Register.*

A remarkable occurrence—betokening the frequent use of the executioner's knife—took place on the occasion when Father Campion the Jesuit was sentenced to death, and seems to have been a warning to the judge. It is given from an authentic record :—

"When Judge Ayloffe was sitting to keep the place when the other judges retired, while the jury consulted about the condemnation of Father Campion and his company, and pulling off his

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* "The substance of this history," as the same writer remarks, "may be found also in Sir Richard Baker's 'Chronicle,' and in Fuller's 'Church History," book ix. p. 139. To say nothing of the Catholic writers, in whom I have found it, who are F. Parsons, 'Epist. de Persecutione Angl.,' published in 1581; Mr. Rishton, 'De Schismati Angl.,' i. 3; Ribadaneira, in his Appendix to Dr. Saunders's 'History,' cap. 13; Yepez, Bishop of Tarraçona, in his Spanish 'History of the Persecution,' i. ii., cap. 9, who relates also, cap. 11, some other examples of the like judgments upon the persecutors, &c. I find also the same history had reached Douay by the following month, where it is recorded in the Register or Diary of the College, August 1577. Mr. Jenks survived his punishment many years, for by the same Diary he was at Rheims in 1587."

glove, found all the hand and his seal of arms bloody, without any token of wrong, pricking, or hurt; and, being dismayed therewith, wiping, it went not away, but still returned. He showed it to the gentlemen that sat before him, who can be witnesses of it till this day, and have some of them upon their faiths and credits avouched it to be true."*

As a rule, such warnings and portents remained all unnoticed by those in power. Other persons occasionally were not unimpressed.

One of the most serious and practical losses to the country in general—a loss more especially felt by the upper and middle classes†—was that which

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* "Life of Father Thomas Cottam," p. 168, "Records of the English Province." Manresa Press: 1875.

† Many of the lower classes in agricultural districts could neither read nor write, though there were of course considerable exceptions. They learnt their *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo* by heart, instructed by the parson of the parish, and said their Rosary on a knotted ring or a string of beads. They heard the Bidding-prayer in their native tongue; many parts of the Baptismal and marriage services were said in English; while the sermons were plain and homely, and wanting in that everlasting criticism and controversy which so distinguishes those of the present day. The poor gained much of the accurate religious knowledge they possessed from the expressive and telling pictures in the churches; and perhaps were after all quite as happy and contented as their Board-school-trained descendants, who are illuminated by penny newspapers, and instructed to despise the

had ensued because of the utter destruction of the monastic system, viz. the universal lack of any machinery for education. In previous generations the sons and daughters of the nobility and gentry had commonly received their education at the abbeys and convents of old; and there is no reason to believe that this education was not both solid and sound, as well as pious and sufficient, notwithstanding the false assertions of the Commissioners and the sneers of the over-cynical Erasmus. Then, however, all such places of education had been utterly destroyed. At Glastonbury several hundred youths, year by year for generations, had been Christianly and virtuously brought up; and so it was elsewhere in every English shire. The practical change which such a revolution had made can now scarcely be realized. The inconvenience and loss must have been excessive, and added largely to the existing ill-feeling. In fact, so serious did some of the Reforming party think it, that the Council urged upon their trustiest allies—those who had secured so much of the monastic property—to do what was possible and practicable in their own particular localities towards remedying the evil.

Catholic Religion; and know neither in theory nor practice their duty to God and to their neighbour.

The Queen's personal friends* were likewise exhorted to aid.

For the country clergy could do nothing in this crisis of want of education. Taken from "the lowest of the people," they were often so ignorant that they could scarcely read the Scriptures in English without special preparation, and knew no more of Latin or English composition than the general class of mechanics from whose ranks so many of them had been taken. In the dioceses of London, Canterbury, Norwich, York, and Litchfield, judging by the registers and books of institution, batches of persons were ordained either readers or ministers, thoroughly unworthy of the offices—gauging them from the new standing-point. The very low state of public education in general towards the middle of Elizabeth's reign may further be collected from a provision in Archbishop Parker's foundation of three scholarships at Cambridge in 1567. These are to be supplied by the most considerable schools in Kent and Norfolk, and are to be "the best and aptest

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* Author's MSS. and Excerpts. Letter of Robert Beale, Clerk of the Council to Sir Henry Lee of Dytchley and Quarrendon, Knt. It was, no doubt, because of this that Sir Henry founded the Grammar School at Aylesbury, near which part of his property lay, and in which his lady, Lord Paget's second daughter, was buried.

schollers, well instructed in the grammar, and (if it may be) such as can make a verse."

It was essential, therefore, that something was done, and done promptly, to remedy the evil. So the authorities stirred up persons of influence in various parts of England—specially those who had favoured the innovating policy—to provide means and machinery for educating the young. Sir Nicholas Bacon, in consequence, secured two specific charters founding a grammar school at St. Alban's. At Aylesbury, Sir Henry Lee, K.G., founded a grammar school, to which a subsequent benefactor, more than a century afterwards, added a munificent donation. At Thame* in Oxfordshire, in 1559, Lord Williams of Thame established an admirable school, where for generations the sons of the nobility and gentry living near received a good education. At Bromeyard in Herefordshire, another efficient and welcomed school was set up. In the county of Kent, Sir Roger Manwood, by the Queen's special authority, instituted a grammar school at Sandwich.†

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* See "Some Account of Lord Williams of Thame, Founder of the Grammar School and Alms-Houses at Thame, together with a Copy of his Will," &c. Thame: 1873.

† "That the scholemaster be firste allowed by the Ordynarie, and by examynacion fownd meete bothe for his learnynge and discreacion of teachinge; as also for his honest

Others at Maidstone, at Cranbrook in 1574, and at Faversham in 1576 were likewise established. At Reading the Corporation resucitated an old school connected with the Abbey, at the Queen's special request; and having undertaken to pay the master's salary, received in return from Her Highness a charter, bearing date 23rd of September 1560, and a grant of certain lands which then produced about forty-one pounds per annum. At Wycombe, in the year 1561, the Queen granted the buildings and site of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist in that town for "the maintenance of one pedagogue or master for the good instruction of children or youth," and gave to it certain lands in Penn, Hughendon, and Great Marlow. Archbishop Grindal founded a school at St. Bees' about the year 1583; but died before the work was completed. At Ashbourne in Derbyshire another was set up, two years later, on the petition of Sir Thomas Cockayne to the Queen; and a third at Dronfield, near Chesterfield,* by Henry Fanshaw, Esq. Pilkington, Bishop of Durham,

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conversacion and righte understandinge of Godes trewe religeon nowe sette fourthe by publique awcthoritie."—"Statutes of Sandwiche Grammar School."

* "*Item*, I ordain that the scholars do upon every Sunday and Holy-day in the morning resort orderly unto the school, and that they go from thence with their master and usher before them into the church, two and two in rank; that they

had obtained a charter for the foundation of a school at Darlington on June 15th, 1567, the common seal of which bears a representation of the Queen crowned and with a sceptre. At Chepping Barnet, Lord Leicester founded a school by Letters Patent dated 24th March 1573; and at Hawkshead in Lancashire, Sandys, Archbishop of York, did the same in 1588. At Market Bosworth, Sir Wolstan Dixie, Lord Mayor of London, founded a school in 1592. At Halifax in Yorkshire and at Woodstock in Oxfordshire grammar schools were founded in 1585. In the north similar schools were erected, under the Queen's direct sanction, at Appleby and Kirkby Stephen*; while in the extreme west of England, Bodmin, Launceston, Saltash near Plymouth, and Penrhyn were benefited by the setting up of similar institutions.

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carry their service-book with them, and answer the versicles and the psalms as the clerk of the parish doth; that they kneel at such times of the celebration of Divine Service accordingly as it is in that behalf prescribed in the 'Book of Common Prayer,' and that they stand up at the reading of the Creed, and bow at the Sacred Name of Jesus," &c.—Statutes of Dronfield School.

* From the statues of the School of Kirkby Stephen (1566) it appears that Lord Wharton, its founder, desired that the scholars, with the master, should daily sing together certain psalms in the chapel where his tomb stood, after they had recited their prayers in the choir. "Knaveshness, malpertness, or stubbornness" in the boys were to merit "reasonable correction."

Of most of these the statutes were drawn up with wisdom and discretion; and the Christian, apart from the Catholic, principle was everywhere and thoroughly recognized.*

Notwithstanding the several important educational foundations of this reign, however, there were not two hundred grammar schools existing throughout the whole country. These, of course, were under the direction of the new bishops, who licensed both the Chief or Head Master and his ushers—often forbidden, in their deed of license, to marry, or to have any women or children at the school-house†—and who were enabled to exer-

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* In the mischievous educational changes of later years, made ostensibly because of "our miserable divisions," the Christian principle is now given up under Queen Victoria just as the Catholic principle had been abrogated under Queen Elizabeth. All religious tests are now abolished; boys who attend need not be baptized; "women may be gonors" [Query? governesses] of the schools; head masters need not be in Holy Orders; and a perfect revolution has been once more effected.

† "Imprimis, I do ordain and will that the schoolmaster to be learned, sober, discreet, and unmarried; such a one as hath taken a degree or degrees in the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge, undeformed, and of the age of thirty years at the least."—"Statutes of Witton School, co. Chester." "We desire that the master and undermaster shall both be forbidden to keep their wives (if they have married any, or hereafter shall marry) or any part of their family within the walls, rooms, attics, or apartments of the masters; for they have been built for the purposes of teaching and learning,

cise the same jurisdiction over them as over the ordinary ministers of their dioceses. As a rule, the "grammarians" seem to have been learned men of mark and ability,—and often presented a strong contrast in these particulars to the recently-ordained clergy. Many of the former did a good work, and were held in high repute.* As for the general body of schoolmasters, they came to be looked upon as a special and favoured class, being exempt from the payment of certain taxes and other burdens which pressed so severely upon other classes at this period. It should be remembered that, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, all benefices had been taxed to the amount of a thirtieth part of their value to provide education for poor students.

About this time William Carter was executed for

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and ought to be kept in a state of complete quiet and silence, so that no improper disturbance may arise in any way to interfere with the studies of the school."—"Statutes of Thame Grammar School," chap. x. Bishop Robert Pursglove, in founding the school at Guisborough in Cleveland (19th June 1561), ordered that "no Scot nor a stranger born be master, nor no married priest or layman."

* At Thame the trustees of Lord Williams' will had so high an opinion of the first "Informator," Edward Harris of New College, that they procured for him Letters Patent granting him the office for life. Some of his relations had been monks at Notley Abbey and the Abbey at Thame Park; and he was a man of good ability and considerable learning.

having reprinted and sold a "Treatise on Schism," which gave great offence to the authorities. Full of pointed arguments and pertinent reflections, it is said to have been from the pen of a most brilliant writer and powerful controversialist, Dr. Gregory Martin, an exile, and had been first printed at Douay in 1578. One passage in it, relating to Holofernes, was thought to have recommended the murder of the Queen; but this interpretation appears far-fetched and more than doubtful,* although the judges assumed it to be evident. Eventually the jury, thus misdirected on a matter of fact, convicted the accused, and on January 10th, 1584, he was executed as a traitor, with the customary barbarities.

The halter and knife, in fact, were still in constant requisition. Sometimes, too, the stake, the faggots, and the lighted torch. For example: Matthew Hammond, a plough-wright, of Hether-

* "The whole object of the author was to warn his brethren against the sin of schism. For this purpose he advised the Catholic gentlewomen to imitate Judith; as she abstained from profane meats, so ought they to abstain from all communication with others in a worship which they believed to be schismatical. By doing this they would destroy Holofernes . . . After an attentive perusal of the whole tract," continues Dr. Lingard, "I cannot find in it the smallest foundation for the charge."—Appendix, Note QQ. to vol. vi. of "The History of England."

sett near Norwich, and a Nonconformist, pronounced an obstinate heretic by the Bishop of Norwich, was burnt at the stake on May 20th, 1579, in the ditch of that city; as was also Francis Kett, about ten years afterwards, *i.e.* in 1588, who appears to have been an Arian. On each of these occasions the Queen justified herself in signing the death-warrant on the plea that as Supreme Governess it became her personal duty to punish heretics at the stake. On February 12th of the year 1584 five seminary priests were put to death at Tybourne; blood had been flowing in fact, and legal butchering going on so steadily, that foreign nations criticised the Queen and her advisers sharply.* These criticisms had their due weight. Two treatises, in reply and explanation, accordingly appeared, one a "Declaration of the Favourable Dealings of Her Majesty's Commissioners," &c., and "A Declaration of the Traitorous Affection borne against Her Majesty by Edmund Campion, Jesuit, and other condemned priests." To these Dr. Allen retorted in a very powerful volume "On the English Persecution,"

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* A comparison between the deeds of the Pagan emperors of Rome and those then being done in the Queen's name, gave great offence. The sting of the remark lay in the justice and accuracy of the parallel. The Queen smarted under it.

which created so great a sensation both at home and abroad, that Lord Burghley* entered the arena, and published "The Execution of Justice in England, for maintenance of public and Christian peace, against certain stirrers of sedition," &c. This fell somewhat flat; but Dr. Allen thought it deserving of notice, and so wrote "A True, Sincere, and Modest Defence of the English Catholics, that suffer for their Faith both at home and abroad, against a slanderous libel," &c.

On the part of the Queen and her advisers fresh Acts of Parliament and further enactments were far more efficient than *ex parte* tracts and treatises. These latter, however, as penned by their opponents, had caused the Council great consternation. They saw, or professed to see, dangers gathering on all sides, and plots thickening. Some one had been captured at sea,—a Scotch priest named Creighton,—and had tried to destroy a manuscript containing, as it was asserted, notes of a plan for the country's invasion by the Spaniards, but in vain, for the MS., or something which did duty for it, was secured. The friends of Queen Mary of Scotland were re-

* Some assert that he himself was the author of the first defence of the Commissioners.

ported to be exceedingly active in trying to aid her; and Francis Throckmorton and others were severely racked and then executed for treasonable correspondence with the Spanish ambassador.

Consequently, in the latter part of the year, two new and important Acts of Parliament were passed. (1.) The first was made "for the surety of the Queen's most royal person, and the continuance of the realm in peace."* This enactment legalized an Association which had been formed to protect Her Majesty from assassination, and to revenge her death if assassinated. Its members,† at the head of whom was Lord Leicester, pledged themselves to punish with death any one who attempted her life; and also excluded from the throne—this was directed against Mary Queen of Scots—any one who should either authorize such an attempt, or profit by it. (2.) The second Act was directed against Jesuits, seminary priests, and other "such-like disobedient persons."‡ These were to leave the kingdom within forty days, under the penalty of treason. If anyone received them or aided them, it was treason. All students in the

* 27 Elizabeth, cap. i.

† Mary Queen of Scots proposed to join, and offered to sign the declaration agreed upon, but was not permitted to do so.

‡ 27 Elizabeth, cap. ii.

seminaries abroad were to return within six months and take the Oath of Supremacy, or else were regarded as traitors; and when they returned they were not to come within twenty miles of the Court for ten years. Persons sending a son to these seminaries were, for every such offence, to forfeit one hundred pounds, and to incur the penalties of *præmunire*; if they forwarded money to any son already there, he was henceforth precluded from inheriting any estate or other possession from the sender.

Whittingham, a noted divine of that period, was a strong Calvinist; and the only ordination he had received was a call from a fanatical assembly of this self-satisfied sect at Geneva.* Yet, without either question or protest, he had been made Dean of Durham by Letters Patent; and, if the Supreme Governess had willed it, she might have made him High Admiral, a state-bishop, or a peer. If the chief officer at Durham Cathedral were unordained, can it be doubted that in inferior positions the unordained were numerous? After having been Dean for some years, however, a complaint was laid against him that "he was

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* Any one who cares to wade through a wordy account of it may do so in the various Letters from foreign Protestants in the Parker Society's publications.

neither deacon nor minister according to the laws of the realm, but a mere layman." In this prolonged contest Sandys, Archbishop of York—a decided personal opponent of the Dean—eventually proceeded to excommunication. Of this the Lord Treasurer strongly disapproved; nor were the proceedings looked upon with favour by Dr. Hutton, then Dean of York, who resisted Sandys' high-handed policy with much vigour. A long, excited, and involved discussion took place on this point. In itself it is wearisome, tedious, and of slender interest.* It was eventually settled

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* What had taken place under King Henry VIII., as regards episcopacy and ordination, may be set forth in the late Lord Macaulay's own words:—"The founders of the Anglican Church took a middle course. They retained episcopacy; but they did not declare it to be an institution essential to the welfare of a Christian society, or to the efficacy of the Sacraments. Cranmer, indeed, plainly avowed his conviction that in the primitive times there was no distinction between bishops and priests, and that the laying-on of hands was altogether unnecessary."—"The History of England," &c. p. 53. London: 1848. And again:—"He (the King) appointed divines of various ranks to preach the Gospel, and to administer the Sacraments. It was unnecessary that there should be any imposition of hands. The King—such was the opinion of Cranmer given in the plainest words—might, in virtue of authority derived from God, make a priest, and the priest so made needed no ordination whatever. These opinions Cranmer followed out to their legitimate consequences. He held that his own spiritual functions, like the secular functions of the Chancellor and the Treasurer, were at once determined by a demise of the

in a manner which clearly and conclusively proved that at the period in question the imposition of the hands of the Genevan ministers was considered by all in authority quite as efficacious and sufficient as the imposition of the hands of the new English prelates. Whittingham retained his deanery until his death. The so-called "ordination" of the foreign sectaries, Scotch as well as Continental, was thus held to be just as good as any other ordination. At that time this was the teaching of the Queen's new communion. Parker, Grindal,* and Sandys fully recognized such

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Crown. When Henry died, therefore, the Archbishop and his Suffragans took out fresh commissions empowering them to ordain and to perform other spiritual functions, till the new Sovereign should think fit to order otherwise. When it was objected that a power to bind and to loose, altogether distinct from temporal power, had been given by our Lord to his Apostles, the theologians of this [the Erastian] school replied that the power to bind and to loose had descended not to the clergy, but to the whole body of Christian men, and ought to be exercised by the chief magistrate as the representative of the society."—*Ibid.*, p. 56.

* In 1582 Archbishop Grindal's Vicar-General gave a formal written license to John Morrison, a Scotch Presbyterian preacher, both to preach and to minister the Sacraments throughout the Province of Canterbury. This document distinctly exhibits the true position of the question of Orders, for it states that Morrison had received imposition of the hands of the General Synod, *i.e.* the presbyters and elders of the county of Lothian; and that the faith of the new communion of John Knox was comformable with that newly set up and established by the authority of Parliament in Eng-

ministers, gave them licences to officiate in London, Canterbury, and elsewhere, superintended them, and looked upon them as part and parcel of "the true and blessed congregation of the elect."

The case of Travers, the earnest and outspoken Lecturer of the Temple Church in London, is equally to the point. He had been originally educated at Cambridge, was a good Oriental scholar; and, having gone to Geneva, several years previously made the acquaintance of Theodore Beza. There he became settled in his misbelief as a Calvinist; and going to Flanders, was made a minister at Antwerp,* where, with Cartwright, another notable Calvinistic Puritan, he preached to the workmen at the English factory. In 1584 he returned to England, and on the strength of his foreign ordination, was at

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land.—On the other hand, it seems that a certain Serjeant Manwood, subsequently a judge, wrote to Archbishop Parker, asking that the vacant living of Old Romney, might be given to Nicholas Jones, his brother's son-in-law, who, however, had already been refused it once, for two good reasons; first, that he was not a member of any university; and, secondly, *because he had never been ordained.*" Here it may be noted that some of the new prelates were more lax than others.—Parker MSS., C. C. Coll., Camb., No. cxiv. folio 935.

* For the testimonial of his ordination at Antwerp by the Presbytery, dated 14 May 1578, see Fuller's "Church History," book ix. p. 214.

once made chaplain to Lord Burghley; who subsequently secured for him the appointment of Lecturer at the Temple. His abilities as a preacher were considerable, his oratory powerful; his learning, though one-sided and narrow, was solid; his method systematic, and his rhetoric remarkably telling and effective.* He consequently gained a great influence over the councillors of the Temple, and had an enthusiastic following. When the celebrated minister, Richard Hooker, who inclined to Ancient Church principles, was made Master of that corporation on March 17, 158$\frac{4}{5}$, he himself commonly preached in the morning, and Travers in the afternoon. What the former "grave and painful divine" (as his contemporaries termed him) asserted in his thoughtful sermon after Mattins, that the Lecturer was accustomed flatly to contradict in his eloquent discourse which followed Evensong in the afternoon.

This state of things, though then common enough in many country places, was not unlikely to breed grave dissensions and inconvenience in

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* Fuller writes flatteringly of Travers, that his "utterance was graceful, gesture plausible, matter justifiable, method plain, and his style carried with it *indolem pietatis*, a genius of grace flowing from his sanctified heart."—"Church History."

the City of London. The Lecturer at the Temple, however, was then neither peculiar nor alone in his policy. Hundreds of ministers had no other orders, and an innumerable number plainly contradicted the neighbouring preachers to their right hand and to their left. But in London these offences became very notorious. So Travers was brought before the Court of High Commission, and after no great consideration an order was signed to silence him. Policy, not law, influenced the decision. He appealed for redress to the Lords of the Council, asserting somewhat loosely and vaguely that "by virtue of the Communion of Saints all ordinations, whether by presbyter or bishop, were of equal value in the Church of Christ." But this did not serve. Archbishop Whitgift disallowed the proposition.* Such loose principles, it was seen, might seriously inconvenience the bishops, now that the Puritans were so rapidly gaining in strength, numbers, and influence; so that, under Archbishop Whitgift's

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* Archbishop Whitgift, in 1589 was the first prelate of the "Reformed" Church who claimed for episcopacy the joint character of "apostolic" and "divine." Hutton, Bancroft, Bilson, and Andrewes followed him subsequently in maintaining the truth and importance of the same principle. But, like Hooker, they were uncertain, ambiguous, and feeble in setting it forth; while, in almost every case, they hesitated to condemn the Puritans, except on the policy of expediency.

advice, he was condemned both for want of orders and for lack of jurisdiction, in very plain terms.* Afterwards he went to Ireland, at the invitation of Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, where orders were held to be of very slender importance, and became Provost of Trinity College; but Calvinism was not over-popular there—as Bale had long ago discovered—and he made several enemies, so resigning this appointment, he eventually returned to England, where he ended his days.

In 1586, the state of morals in London had become so frightful, while amongst the preachers or ministers the peace-makers were few and the sowers of discord and brawlers so many, that John Aylmer, the Bishop, who at once states and deplores the evils, ordered the Commination Service to be said at least three times a year, to avert the looked-for wrath of God. In so doing, we

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* The actual terms of the order condemning Travers were as follows:—"That he was no lawfully-ordained minister according to the Church of England; that he preached without being licensed; that he had openly presumed to confute such doctrine as had been publicly delivered by another preacher, without giving warning of these controversial sallies to the lawful ordinary; and that this liberty was contrary to a provision made in the seventh year of this reign, for avoiding disturbances in the Church." The authority of Parliament, not of the old canon law, was thus brought to bear upon him.

may reasonably wonder if he ever called to mind the atrocious acts of sacrilege, which he himself, when Archdeacon of Lincoln, had perpetrated or directly sanctioned twenty years before. In the utter moral corruption then existing, the nation was only reaping what had been so recently sown by these "Reforming" prelates and their party.

Several of the clergy, to judge by the actual words of this Bishop's Visitation Articles,* were believed to keep suspected women in their houses, to be grossly incontinent, given to drunkenness, indecency,† idleness, hunting, hawking, and dicing, to be table-swearers, dancers, liars, and false dissemblers; while many in all parts, as well in the Province of York as in that of Canterbury, notoriously ministered, or pretended to minister,‡

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* Imprinted at London by Richard Johnes, dwelling at the Rose and the Crowne, neere unto Holborne Bridge, 1586.

† In January 1581, Davye Wood, a drunken preacher, scandalously ill-treated his wife, and when two women interfered, exposed himself to them.—*Vide* "State Papers, Elizabeth," vol. cxlvii. n. 4.

‡ Archbishop Parker, had some years previously, *i.e.* in 1575, inquired "whether any have intruded themselves and presumed to exercise any kind of ministry *without imposition of hands and lawful calling by ordinary authority*, and whether any admitted but to deaconrie *usurpe the office of the minister*. *Item*, whether any lay persons take upon them to read openly in the congregation Divine Service in any church, chapple, or oratorie, without there be thereunto upon some urgent cause

without having received any ordination of any sort or kind. Illiterate, ignorant, and uninstructed, the more violent and vulgar they were in frantically denouncing the religion of their grandparents—women as well as shopkeepers joined in the work*—the better they found themselves suited to the depraved taste for religious excitement and Calvinistic blasphemy of the multitude, and the greater was the favour shown them by those ministers of the Queen who superintended the ancient dioceses, and were officially pledged to root out the Old Faith. Infants at this time

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or great necessity *for a time licensed by the ordinary.* Whether such have been allowed, and how long they have served, and whether any of them have taken upon them to solemnize matrimony, *or to minister any Sacrament.*"—"Parker's Articles of Enquiry," 1575. London: John Daye. It is evident, therefore, from the early years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, that the greatest laxity had prevailed; and that, in fact, ordination by a bishop was not thought at all necessary to enable a person to hold an ecclesiastical benefice.

* "The common people of England were wiser than the wisest of the nation; for here the very women and shopkeepers were able to judge of predestination and determine what laws were to be made concerning Church government; and then what were fit to be made or abolisht: that they were more able (or, at least, thought so) to raise and determine perplext cases of conscience than the wisest of the most learned colleges in Italy: that men of the slightest learning, and the most ignorant of the common people, were mad for a new, or super, or re-reformation of religion."—Quoted in Isaac Walton's "Life of Richard Hooker."

were no longer baptized, as many old parish registers abundantly show; while the Lord's Supper was now celebrated at night, and Evening Communion introduced by these "Reformation" worthies.* The most rampant revolutionary utterances, often ridiculous in themselves when not painfully blasphemous, were sometimes mistaken by the open-mouthed and deeply-impressed listeners for special revelations from the Divine Spirit of Truth; frantic prophets, with staff and scroll and lying lips, jabbered of things sacred without any regard for sense and decency, or thundered forth curses and anathemas for the Primate of Christendom; while the true glad tidings of salvation, which had cheered the hearts of thousands in life, and comforted the way-worn and weary in death, for well-nigh ten centuries, were rejected with contumely and scorn.

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* "Baptizing of infants, although confessed by themselves to have been continued ever sithence the very Apostles' own times, yet they *altogether condemned* . . . The Eucharist they *received* (pretending our Lord and Saviour's example) *after supper*."—Hooker's "Preface," p. 186, vol. i., Hooker's "Works," Ed. Keble. Oxford: 1845.

CHAPTER III.

In the summer of 1583, as already briefly recorded, Edmund Grindal, who, by the Queen's favour, had been Primate of All England for nine years, had gone to his last account in the Palace of Croydon. A Cumberland man, educated at Cambridge and patronized by Ridley, he was always Puritanically inclined, but differed in but few particulars from the ordinary herd of commonplace Elizabethan prelates. The so-called "prophesyings" already referred to, found in him a sincere and bold admirer. These "religious exercises" had largely aided in making confusion worse confounded all over the country; having directly tended to degrade religion, to extend frivolous and profitless controversies, to foster self-delusions, and even to endanger social

order, by bringing all authority into contempt and disrepute. The excitement they sometimes produced was in itself inherently mischievous, as the Queen and some of her advisers had good cause for believing. But Grindal, having in a bold and outspoken Letter declined to put down the pestilent discussions in question, though expressly ordered to do so by the Supreme Governess herself, was promptly and duly suspended from his archiepiscopal office without further ado. The royal lady who had conferred that dignity upon him, thus temporarily took it away again, without direct charge or any trial, to his great annoyance and chagrin. He was furthermore peremptorily commanded to remain a prisoner in his own palace in Surrey,—an order at once dutifully obeyed; and, had it not been for his death, there is good reason to believe that he would have been shortly evicted absolutely. The poor perplexed man, who had then grown blind—physically as well as morally—fretted sorely over the disorders of the time and because of his punishment; some affirming that, exhausted with worry and worn-out with disappointment, he died of a broken heart. Certainly the existing state of public affairs, when contrasted with the harmony and unity of the days when he was a Cumberland youth, happy amid the hills and lakes of a beautiful country, could not fail to have struck

him keenly. No one remembered him after death. He who in the spirit of a pagan had distinctly forbidden prayers for departed Christian souls,* was himself soon and altogether forgotten when dead and buried.

The following, relating to this period, from an old and authentic record of persecution, tells its own tale :—

"Mrs. Anne Landers, in one of the cruel searches which the Lord President did continually cause to be made in and about York, was apprehended for her religion, together with many other gentlewomen, and committed prisoner to Ousebridge. Her husband, an attorney, was apprehended for going about to defend his wife by law, and sent prisoner to London, and condemned to the pillory; from whence, fearing the infamy of that punishment, he wrote to his wife to yield somewhat to the times in matter of religion, which was a cause to her of unspeakable grief and abundant tears for many days. At length she wrote

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* Grindal, in 1571, had specially enjoined in his "Injunctions" "that neither on All Saints' Day, after Evening Prayer, nor the next day after (of late called All Souls' Day), there be any ringing at all other than to Common Prayer, when the same shall happen to fall upon the Sunday. And that no months' minds or yearly commemorations of the dead, nor any other superstitious ceremonies be observed or used, which tend to the maintenance either of Prayer for the Dead or of the Popish Purgatory."—London: W. Serres, 1571.

back to her husband her resolute mind to suffer all manner of crosses rather than to offend Him Who had died upon the Cross for her, and desiring him to do the like; and so he did, suffering patiently the punishment of the pillory for the cause above mentioned. After this she had liberty for a while; but being taken the second time, she was committed to York Castle about the year 1579, where she did much good by example of her godly life and charitable works. From thence she was removed to the Castle of Hull. The terror and fearful report of the hard and cruel usage there of Catholics did not dismay her, being suddenly separated from her husband and children, and committed to a cruel and unmerciful keeper. There she lived five or six years, suffering with great constancy, patience, and Christian fortitude, and comforting all other afflicted Catholics, her fellow-prisoners, and relieving them with great alms. At length she was called for by warrant to London to the same prison where her husband was, where she lived as godly as she had done before; and lastly they both departed this life in the Counter [or the Clink]." *

During all these years nothing could have ex-

* "The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers," Third Series, p. 323. London: 1877.

ceeded the disorder and confusion which existed. Everything was out of gear. Restlessness was universal. Men both unordained and unlicensed still continued to officiate.* The old order of things had been duly and deliberately destroyed by Brute Force; though whether this could have been done unless much wickedness and corruption, much self-seeking, worldliness, and indifference had existed,† seems more than doubtful.

The state of the fabrics of the churches, and the nature of the services in them had rapidly gone from bad to worse. Many more of the former were then becoming ruinous. In some dioceses, notoriously those of Oxford and Norwich, numerous churches and chapels were deliberately allowed to become utterly desolate. Men could not be secured to serve them, for the

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* "Whether any doe presume to saie service in your church or chappell openly *who is not a lawfull minister* and sufficiently licensed by the ordinarie of this archdeaconrie under the seal of his office?"—"Visitation Articles of John King, Archdeacon of Nottingham." Oxford: Joseph Barnes.

† As the Rev. T. E. Bridgett so frankly admits:—"I cannot forget that Our Lady's Dowry in England was not destroyed by an incursion of unbaptized heathen nor by Protestants brought up from infancy in anti-Catholic prejudice, and taught to connect the honour of the Son in some strange fashion with the dishonour or neglect of the Mother. No, alas! the enemies of Our Lady had been children of the Catholic Church."—"Our Lady's Dowry." London: 1875.

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new owners of the great tithes were often only eminent for their superfine rapacity. In certain of them, no service of any sort or kind had been held for nearly twelve years. There was often no one either to look after the fabric, to keep up the straggling hedges or impaired fences of the churchyards (in which swine* often grubbed up the graves); no one to let fresh air into the building, or to preserve the remaining fittings from the alternate evils of mustiness and damp on the one hand, or of dry-rot and pilferers on the other. Doors at last lost their rusted hinges and imperfect fastenings; dust accumulated; storied windows were broken; starlings found a shelter under the roofs; spiders undisturbed spun their webs in convenient angles; bell-towers were turned into dove-cotes and places for breeding pigeons, by some local yeoman; the bells, no longer needed, were sold—for they brought in

* There is a peculiar inscription on the outer wall of Chiswick churchyard, thus:—"This wall was made at ye charges of ye right honorable and truelle pious Lord Francis Russell, Earle of Bedford, out of true zeale and care for ye keeping of this churchyard and ye wardrobe of Godd's saints, whose bodies lay herein buryed, from violating by swine and other prophanation. Witnesseth, W. Walker, 1623." This was Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, who married Katherine, daughter of Giles Brydges, third Lord Chandos, and was the father of the first Duke of Bedford.

something; the lead was stripped off the aisle roofs; sometimes the chancel was altogether destroyed, so as to avoid the cost and difficulty of repairing it; while in certain cases these combined evils eventually led to the absolute destruction of whole fabrics; so that even now in many parishes it is impossible for any but the duly-initiated to trace even the foundation-stones on some secluded slope of what until Queen Elizabeth's day had been a fair and stately House of God. Many such at the hands of the "godly" were wholly "reformed" off the face of the earth.*

It is now necessary to deal at some length with one of the darkest events of Elizabeth's reign,—bearing as it does so directly on the ecclesiastical policy of her advisers. How the judicial murder of a royal guest and kinswoman

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* In the diocese of Oxford (though portions were then in that of Lincoln) may be mentioned the churches of North Weston, Easington, Quarrendon, Creslow, Mursley, Littlecote near Stewkley, Medmenham, Saunderton, Deyncourt near Wooburn, and Rowsham in Wingrave, as ruined or razed. The late Rev. W. Hastings Kelke, in a paper on the "Desecrated Churches in Bucks" ("Records of Bucks," vol. iii. p. 127), asserts that the whole number in Buckinghamshire alone may be estimated at no less than sixty. The Oxford diocese now also comprises Berkshire as well as Oxfordshire. Supposing that each of such churches would have accommodated a hundred worshippers (a low calculation), this destruction thus robbed the people of six thousand sittings.

was compassed by the English Queen shall now be told:

The well-meant advice which Katherine de Medici had given to Queen Mary to return to Scotland turned out to be most unfortunate. Her long minority enabled rival factions to have brought the country into a state bordering upon civil war, while deeds of infamy and ferocity were done there, with scarcely a parallel in history. John Knox, the notorious apostate monk, was then carrying out what some imaginative persons still term a "Reformation"—the chief consequent effects of which have been schism, heresy, disorder, misbelief, and eventually infidelity.* Subsequently after many trials, personal as well as political, Queen Mary became a prisoner in the hands of her own subjects. When she succeeded in escaping from their prison walls, and at Elizabeth's invitation came to England, she found herself only too secure in the keeping of her wily and deadly enemy.†

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* In almost all town-parishes in Scotland there are in the present day at least three buildings used for preaching and prayer according to the rules and rites of the Established Religion, the Free Church Religion, and that of the United Presbyterians; but these all differ. Independent of these leading sects, there are many others of inferior importance and influence more or less Christian in certain of their tenets.

† "*Her imprisonment can only be justified as an an act of State necessity.* There is no other plea. To have opened her

It was the peculiar and almost unique position of Queen Elizabeth which from the outset of her reign gave her advisers such an obvious advantage, in pressing their reforms and revolutions upon the English people. Edward VI. was dead; Mary Tudor was dead; and, as Elizabeth was notoriously illegitimate both in fact and law, Mary, Queen of Scots, was, without any doubt, the direct and immediate heiress to the throne of England, and was also wife of Francis, heir to the King of France. The English people, who knew all this well and accurately enough, saw at once that their island-home seemed thus more than likely to become a mere province of France—a humiliation too great to be borne. Thus many practical questions, as they arose in turn during Elizabeth's reign, were considered by politicians with this grave alternative directly staring them in the face. No other method of treating these questions could have so successfully won the confidence of the great cities and centres of renewed life. On the subject of national independence, moreover, the husbandman and hind were

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prison doors and bade her go forth free would have made her the active chief and rallying-point of Catholic disaffection, and of the power of Rome against England. *The same cause compelled her execution.*"—"Introduction," p. 26, to "Documents from Simancas relating to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth," edited by Spencer Hall, F.S.A. London: 1865.

as much united in sentiment with the merchant and the townsman as Lord Burghley could have desired. The formal frivolities which were tolerated regarding the Queen's matrimonial arrangements; the numerous reasonable and unreasonable proposals for her royal hand; the anxious debates round the Council-board concerning the different candidates—juvenile, antique, or adventurous—who came forward for the honour of becoming her husband, all arose from an exact knowledge of the situation's gravity. Therefore it came to pass, not unreasonably, that so many leading men alike stood forward as active opponents of Mary Stuart and warm supporters of Queen Elizabeth. It was not at the outset (when men began to take sides) a choice of two religions, the Old and the New, the Catholic and the Protestant, for nine-tenths of the people were at heart Catholics; but it was a great national and political question, in which every Englishman was naturally and deeply interested, viz. whether the kingdom should become subject to foreigners, the Scotch and the French, or retain its ancient independence at any cost under Elizabeth. This position of affairs gave notorious advantages to Burghley in carrying out his anti-Catholic policy, and he was certainly not slow to use them.

For more than eighteen long and wearisome years the Queen of Scotland, who came as a guest,

had been kept in captivity. The treatment Her Majesty received, judged of, not by historical romances of anti-Christian or Protestant historians, called upon to bolster up a bad cause, but by the actual MS. letters of those more immediately engaged in harassing her, is such, that, after the lapse of three centuries and more, the Queen's trials stand out from the thick darkness around, and she becomes deserving of the truest and most profound sympathy. She was often treated most insolently and cruelly by her keepers. Beset with spies, and surrounded with enemies anxious to please Elizabeth, Queen Mary's life must have been a burden. On one occasion, Paulet, her gaoler, because she refused to open her private cabinet for his inspection, threatened to break it open with bars.* Upon this the Queen produced the keys. Paulet then rifled it, and took possession of its contents for his mistress.

* "After many denials, many exclamations, and many bitter words against you (I say nothing of her railing against myself), with flat affirmation that Her Majesty might have her body, but her heart she should never have; refusing to deliver the key of her cabinet, I called my servants and sent for bars to break open the door, whereupon she yielded; and causing the door to be opened, I found there in the coffers mentioned in Mr. Ward's remembrance five rolls of canvas containing five thousand French crowns, and two leather bags, whereof the one had in gold one hundred and four pounds, two shillings," &c.—"The Letter-book of Sir Amias Paulet.—Paulet to Walsingham," p. 289. London: 1874.

At forty-three Queen Mary's hair had become perfectly white. Yet her noble Christian virtues of constancy and fortitude were always remarkable; and, by the grace of the Most Highest, her spirit never gave way. Many influential foreigners were horrified at the treatment she received, and so expressed themselves, to the intense annoyance of Elizabeth. Queen Mary's allies and partizans, both in Scotland and England, (as they were bound to do,) made several attempts to aid her, —they would have been unworthy of the honour of her friendship had they done less,—but their plans were either ill-laid, or, by the instrumentality of Government spies and false friends, were cleverly defeated.

Eventually Sir Francis Walsingham succeeded in entangling a number of young Catholic gentlemen, Salisbury, Tichbourne, Travers, Barnewall, Tilney, Windsor, and others,* in a scheme which was known as "Babington's Plot," and which apparently involved a plan for dethroning Elizabeth.† Pooley and Gilbert Giffard, though

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* For an account of their trial, see "State Trials," vol. i. pp. 64–71. London: 1720.

† Babington had been in France recently, and bad brought letters for Mary, and, in return, she is stated in his indictment to have written letters to him "in which she not only

with other professed sentiments and trusted by Mary's friends, were the secret agents of the Secretary of State, and, as the plot developed, deliberately betrayed the trust reposed in them. Letters which passed amongst the Scottish Queen's allies were opened by Thomas Phillips, a noted reader of cypher-writing, engaged by Walsingham, and an agent thoroughly adroit in the art of counterfeiting seals; they were read, copied, and then sent on to the person for whom they were intended, so that evidence of the plot in writing might be duly secured. By such tactics Walsingham secured such information as enabled him in some way to connect Queen Mary with Babington, and eventually to bring about her death on the scaffold. Babington and his thirteen allies were accused of concocting a plot to murder the Queen, and of a conspiracy to raise a rebellion in favour of Mary. Seven of the prisoners acknowledged their guilt; of the other

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signified that she allowed and approved of such intended treasons, but therein also urged and solicited Babington and his confederates, by promises of great reward, to fulfil the same." The truth of this assertion, as regards any design on the life of Elizabeth, is very doubtful; but it answered the purpose of the framers of the Association, and it was forthwith resolved to proceed to the judicial murder of the unhappy prisoner. Her secretaries (Nau and Curle) and her papers were seized, and both subjected to rigid examination.

seven, five were convicted. Two successive days, September 20th and 21st, were appointed for their execution. Their punishment was to be drawn, hung, and quartered, and this, it is to be feared, was done with the deliberate intention of inflicting as much pain as possible.* The Queen degraded herself by expressing a particular wish that they might suffer some kind of death more barbarous and excruciating than the ordinary horrors referred to. To this it was objected, by the law officers, that such an alteration or addition would be illegal. She then consented that the existing law should have its course, on the express condition that the executions were "protracted to the extremitie of payne" in the sufferers, and in the face of the populace. On the first day the hanging of each was by deliberate intention a mere pretence, for they were only half-choked or strangled a little, and then promptly cut down alive. The detailed cruelties of the executioners which ensued, with their savage slowness, and bloody knives, were endured by these generous youths with noble patience; but the populace, horribly disgusted, became so excited at such deliberate barbarity, that, on the morrow, the others were hung till they were quite

* See Howell's "State Trials," vol. i. pp. 1126–1158.

dead, and then dismembered, disembowelled, and quartered as usual.

To return to Queen Mary. Some of the letters made use of, and from which the English Council acted, were no doubt forgeries; for the Gospellers and leaders of the so-called "Reformation" were adepts at the art of forgery. And it seems quite reasonable that, if Babington and his allies had determined on accomplishing that of which they were suspected, they would at least have exercised ordinary prudence in their plans and arrangements.

The Earl of Leicester, who was not without experience on the subject, had recommended that the Queen of the Scots should be secretly poisoned, and had even sent a Protestant minister to Sir Francis Walsingham to prove logically that, in accordance with the teaching of Scripture, a queen who is an idolatress deserves nothing short of death.* Elizabeth, fearing the effect of a public trial and execution of the Queen of Scotland, complained that Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drue Drury, did not somehow or another manage

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* The Protestant literature of the period (too profane and offensive to quote) is all based on the gross assumption that "Eucharistic Adoration," as it is now termed by certain English churchmen, is flagrant idolatry; and that idolators ought not to be suffered to live.

adroitly and secretly to shorten the life of Mary; but, as these two knightly gaolers (as will be shown further on) appeared horrified at the suggested idea of assassination, there was nothing left but a trial and an execution.

On the 11th of October 1586, preparations for the form of a trial were commenced and gone through at Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire. Including the Lord Chancellor and Burghley the Lord Treasurer, Henry Grey, Earl of Kent, and George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, no less than twenty-five peers arrived as actors in the tragedy. A letter from Queen Elizabeth was delivered to Mary, announcing the purport of these formal proceedings, who, on seeing it, composedly remarked that she was sorry to be charged with that of which she was innocent; and reminded those present that she too was a Queen, and in no way amenable to foreign jurisdiction. Her Majesty requested the Chancellor to explain what was meant by his mistress's extraordinary and inaccurate expression, that she was "living in England under Elizabeth's protection," but he evaded giving any answer to so pertinent and difficult a question. For some time she refused to plead; but, after Sir Christopher Hatton had suggested that with some persons such action might imply guilt, she reluctantly consented to defend herself. This last resolution was surely a mistake.

The charge was two-fold: first, that she had conspired with traitors* and foreigners to procure the invasion of the realm; and secondly, that she had likewise conspired to bring about the death of the Queen. The first charge Mary declined to allow, for it was obviously inadmissible. English statutes could not in any way bind one who was not an English subject, but the Sovereign of another realm. She, as the Queen of Scots, was the equal of Elizabeth; and between such there was no other law than the law of nature. That law fully justified her in seeking to secure her liberty. And who, after all these late years of trial and sufferings,—what man could blame her, if she received such aid as had been tendered her, in the hope of securing her deliverance from an unjust and shameful captivity? With regard to the second charge, she firmly and emphatically denied it with tears; calling God the Trinity to witness of its utter falseness and of her own innocency. Here, be it noted, that only copies of the intercepted letters in the Babington case were produced; the originals were not forthcoming, nor was the accuracy of the copies used either asserted or proved. Friendless, and almost alone, this

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* "That Babington's conspiracy was with the privity (*cum scientiâ*) of Mary."—Sentence of the Commissioners.

poor lady, worn with sufferings and sorrow, had been in confinement for no less than nineteen years. With no knowledge of law, and unaccustomed to judicial processes, she was no match for the low-minded upstarts and unscrupulous lawyers who pretended to sit in judgment upon her. All that trickery could accomplish, forgery compass,* and contrivance devise, was devised and accomplished to secure her death. Intense hatred of the Christian Religion, and a fear of its being restored again in its integrity, had much to do in giving point and purpose to the aims of the Commissioners.† Moreover, this desolate lady was not only refused the aid of all counsel or witnesses in her defence, but even of her own papers, which, after her caskets and coffers had been secretly broken open and rifled, were stolen and denied her. As regards certain copies of letters

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* "Forgery (I blush for the honour of Protestantism while I write it) seems to have been peculiar to the Reformed . . . . I look in vain for one of those accursed outrages of imposition amongst the disciples of Popery."—Dr. Whitaker's "Vindication of Queen Mary," vol. iii. p. 2. And again, the same writer, on pp. 45, 46, and 54, writes: "Forgery seems to have been the peculiar disease of Protestantism," &c. to the same effect.

† As Camden put on record: when Lord Buckhurst pronounced judgment upon the Queen, he clearly admitted as much, for he bade Her Majesty "look for no mercy, seeing that her life was incompatible with the safety of the Protestant Religion."

produced, "she protested," as Lord Burghley himself admits, "that the points of the letters which concerned the practice against the Queen's Majesty's person, were never by her [Mary] written, nor of her knowledge."* Babington alone could have told the truth, and him they had put to death. The attempts made by Walsingham and others to inculpate Mary's own servants and attendants failed. Some of them on oath denied the perverted interpretation put upon their words. The Court was then adjourned to Westminster, where, on the 29th of October, after much legal chicanery and contemptible shuffling, they found the Queen of Scots guilty.

On the following day, Sir Amias Paulet informed her that as she was now dead to the law, she had no right to any of the insignia of royalty. He, therefore, made her servants remove the cloth of estate, dais, and canopy; and then with ill-bred and unmannerly insolence, not looked for from a Somersetshire gentleman, he covered himself and sat down in the Queen's presence. In place of the Royal Arms of Scotland, the Queen's servants, at her command, put up some engravings of Our Saviour's Passion and death, which

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* Lord Burghley to Secretary Davison, October 15.—"Ellis' Letters," p. 111–112.

Paulet wrote of as "stuff." He further told the Queen, that "as a woman in her situation could not need further recreation," he should at once remove her billiard-table, which was done. As she informed the Archbishop of Glasgow, she felt these premeditated and unworthy insults keenly; and she wrote to Elizabeth, calling such action useless cruelty.

No notice seems to have been taken of the Scottish Queen's reasonable complaint. A wise cunning secured its being ignored.

Elizabeth, however, on learning what the Commissioners had done, appeared to be extremely reluctant to go a step further and to sign the death-warrant, as well she might be; for the whole proceedings had been conducted on the principle that as Mary, who had been the English queen's guest, was thus her prisoner, she was justified, now that Mary was in her power, in taking away her life. Both Burghley and Walsingham saw, and put their opinions on record,* that without such a step they themselves stood in grave danger—as no doubt would have been the case—if the old Catholic party could by any

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* "State Papers." Sir F. Walsingham to Lord Shrewsbury, October 6th, and Lord Burghley to Lord Leicester, dated October 26th, 1586.

means have once again secured the upper hand. Throughout Europe a thrill of horror ran, when the proceedings at Fotheringay—for a short time kept secret and for a much longer misrepresented, —were first made known; and it required all the arts of dissimulation and double-dealing of Elizabeth's confidential advisers to remove the bad impression which these illegal and unprecedented proceedings* had produced. In truth, it may be gravely and certainly doubted whether such *was* removed.

But for Elizabeth's hesitation there were no doubt some grounds. True, the Spanish King was well enough engaged in Flanders; the French monarch, greatly perplexed and engaged with religious wars at home, was practically powerless;

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* On this point a high-principled author of the last century thus writes:—"The judges in Queen Mary's case were not to act by reasons of State, but by rules of law and justice; and the whole course of the proceedings, in taking the confessions of men who were executed, and might have been kept alive; of persons who were then alive, and might have been brought to the trial; in proving letters by copies, and producing no originals; in condemning a Sovereign Princess, who had been so long imprisoned for using every means (but those of assassination, which were not proved) to recover her liberty; these things were not easily reconcileable to the laws of England, or laws of nations; and therefore I am glad not to find Lord Willoughby's name in the Commission."—"Memoir of Peregrine Bertie, eleventh Lord Willoughby de Eresby," &c., p. 61. London: 1838.

but there was the danger of driving the Catholics and Mary's allies to desperation, as well as some dread of the well-deserved infamy which, accurately enough, she knew would cover (as it most righteously has covered) her name, because of this iniquity. Elizabeth herself had suggested assassination, but it had been of no avail; her friend Leicester, with equal futility, had hinted at poison; but neither assassin nor poisoner had been forthcoming. Anyhow, therefore, if the execution must take place, it should be done either privately without the Queen's cognizance, or else in response to a specific request for the same from Parliament.

This was planned for, and soon cleverly arranged. The Lords and Commons, duly manipulated; and sufficiently sanctified by the sacred presence of six grave ministers in lawn sleeves and satin,* joined in a solemn Petition that the sen-

* Lord Burghley wrote to Davison, as follows, on the 9th of November 1586:—"Yesterday, in the Parliament, grew a question whether it was convenient for the two Archbishops (Whitgift and Sandys) and four other bishops to accompany the other lords temporal in their petition to Her Majesty for execution of the Scottish Queen. Some scruple I had whether Her Majesty would like it, because in former times the bishops in Parliament were wont to absent themselves. Yet I do not think [it] unlawful for them to be present and persuaders in such causes, as the execution tend to the state of the Church, as this doth."—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cxcv. n. 11.

tence of the Commissioners might speedily be carried into effect, to the honour of God and the safety and glory of the realm. When, as some pointed out, idol-worshippers and mass-mongers combined to plot against the Lord's anointed, it was certainly time to act. The Bishops were unctuous in their phrases and portentously solemn in their long-winded warnings. Their lordships had nothing at heart but the pure and unadulterated gospel. This alone was their comfort, their hope, and their reward. As the Speaker, with such profound Biblical knowledge impressively pointed out, Her Majesty should beware of foolishly and wickedly imitating Saul, who had spared Agag, or King Ahab, who had failed to put Benhadad to death. One, Sir James Croft, whose nauseous cant and hypocrisy were super-eminent, moved that some earnest and devout prayer to God the Holy Spirit might be made, to incline Her Majesty's too tender heart to grant this their reasonable Petition; and asked that this devout prayer might be speedily printed, as well for daily use in Parliament—so anxious for direct enlightenment from Heaven—as for all the members thereof in their private devotions at home.*

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* See D'Ewes' "Journal of the Votes, Speeches, and Debates during the Reign of Elizabeth," pp. 401–404. London: 1682.

The Queen in a similar spirit—disgusting because of its obvious insincerity and hypocrisy,—on receiving the Petition and hearing of the devotional exercises of the Commons, took up the idea thus suggested, and replied, with corresponding cant, that she likewise must take time to deliberate and also betake herself to prayer at the throne of grace. She, too, "commended herself to be directed by God's Spirit"; while the Lord Chancellor, in answer to an assertion from Elizabeth, that it was desirable that some expedient should be devised for the safety of the kingdom, short of the judicial murder of the Sovereign of an adjoining kingdom, which she dreaded,—informed her that any such unwise and disastrous expedient was to be avoided, and could not possibly be adopted. It was the block and the axe and the Queen of Scots' decapitation and death which were needed. Nothing less.

Lord Buckhurst was consequently enjoined to inform Queen Mary of the unanimous judgment of the Commissioners, now ratified by Parliament, and of the joint Petition of both Houses to Elizabeth. Sir Amias Paulet, her gaoler, and Robert Beale, Clerk of the Council, accompanied him.

His lordship told her that it was quite vain and useless to look for mercy, for her notorious attachment to Popery, mass-mongering, and idol worship rendered her life wholly incompatible

with the safety and security of the New Religion; and insultingly offered the services of the Bishop or Dean of Peterborough to enable her to prepare for death.

She replied with dignity that the judgment was wholly lacking in justice; that she had never sought the least injury to, much less the murder of, the English queen; that her true crime was evidently her religion, for which she was perfectly ready to die; and that she must altogether decline the aid of the ministers in question. She asked and secured the services of her own almoner, and then wrote three letters, entrusting them to her servant, one to the Holy Father, another to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and a third to the Duke of Guise.

In London—where public opinion, so far as it then existed, had been for several months corrupted by false news, and by groundless alarms deliberately circulated—the Proclamation was with due formalities made public. The bells of the churches rang merry peals; in some instances the parish ministers "gave God the thanks"; bonfires blazed at Westminster, Clerkenwell Green, and Tower Hill; the more depraved creatures of the Court appeared in a state of phrenzied ecstacy. Walsingham told Lord Shrewsbury that it was to be hoped that the Queen might be moved by these "earnest instances, to proceed

thoroughly in this cause." The man's hope, alas! was too soon realized.

In a letter to Elizabeth the Queen of Scots made four dying requests; first, that her dead body might be taken to France, and placed beside her mother's tomb; secondly, that she might send a jewel, with her maternal blessing, to her son James*; thirdly, that her servants might have a free passage home and retain the legacies she intended to leave them; and, fourthly, that she might not be put to death in private, lest her enemies should assert that she had ended her days in despair, or had not died in the Catholic Faith. In this dignified letter there is throughout no expression whatsoever which can be twisted into anything like a plea or petition for mercy. She regrets the suppression of her own letters before the Commission—a most shameful act of injustice—and ventures to remind Elizabeth that the day would come when she herself would have to

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* "From her own son she might have hoped [for] some sense of duty, some desire to save. But when this so-called Scottish Solomon—as being the son of *David*—heard of the trial, he simply remarked, 'Mary must drink the ale she had brewed.' When he consulted his Council, the Earl of Bothwell told him roundly he deserved to be hanged the day after, if he allowed the execution to take place."—"Documents from Simancas," Introduction, p. 28. London: 1865.

give an account of her actions before a just and unerring Judge. It was a touching and true letter, in every respect worthy of the high character and noble antecedents of this royal sufferer; and its perusal brought tears to the colourless face of Elizabeth, as Lord Leicester informed Walsingham. But, with unroyal discourtesy and unwomanly harshness, no notice whatsoever was taken of it. No answer was returned.

The King of France, on hearing what had taken place, at once sent M. de Bellievre to expostulate with Elizabeth, but for some time she carefully avoided seeing him. Fraud and cunning met the King's agent at every step he took in endeavouring to accomplish his mission. At last he was enabled to inform her, face to face, that his Royal Master would most strongly and earnestly resent the execution of Queen Mary.

"Sir, have you the authority of your Sovereign to employ such language to Us?"

"Yes, Madam," he replied, "I have. For the King, my master, expressly commanded me to use it."

"Is your authority signed with his own hand?"

"It is, Madam."

"Then I require you," responded the Queen, "to testify as much in your writing."

This he did; upon which Elizabeth resolved to

reply by letter, which she promised to send in due course. In that she assumed a lofty spirit, and rebuked the King with Tudor vigour for what she asserted was his uncalled-for interference.

The resident French Ambassador, as well as Queen Mary's son James—the latter by the intervention of Sir Robert Keith, Sir Robert Melville, and the Master of Gray, (some at heart enemies of Mary,) endeavoured to avert the coming deed of iniquity, but all in vain. Their expostulations and suggestions were treated with marked contempt.

On the 1st of February 1587, a letter was sent to Sir Amias Paulet at Fotheringay, jointly signed by Sir Francis Walsingham and William Davison,* which charged them, at Elizabeth's suggestion, with lack of care for her service; for had it been otherwise, they would have long ago, in some way or another, killed and got rid of the royal captive. Of her guilt, after the trial, they ought to have no doubt; while the oath of association, which they had already taken, should have perfectly cleared their consciences before God, and their good repute in the eyes of their fellows.

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* See "Note" to this Chapter, in which the letter in question, and some other subsequent communications throwing much light upon its meaning, are given at length.

Sir Amias Paulet, though a sour and bigoted anti-Catholic, and accurately enough perceiving that Queen Mary was no friend to the New Religion, was too honest and intelligent to sacrifice his conscience to Elizabeth's will. He could never make so foul a shipwreck of his conscience, he replied, nor leave so great a blot on his posterity as to shed blood without law or warrant. Drury, his co-gaoler, he added, was of a like mind.

The Queen, as Davison her Secretary soon discovered, was intensely annoyed at the reply of Paulet and Drury, and burst out into loud expressions of anger and vexation, well garnished with her favourite oaths, at their scrupulousness. The commission for Queen Mary's execution, however, had been duly signed on the 1st of February, and despatched by Beale to Fotheringay.

Immediately prior to this period, the Scotch Ambassador had been urgently asking a brief delay of eight days before the sealing and signing of the death-warrant. But Elizabeth, tortured in conscience, worried with expostulations, and fearing further discussion, once again swearing a profane oath, savagely replied, "No, not for one hour."

The death-warrant reached Fotheringay Castle on a cold and bleak day in the early part of February. The Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, who brought it, were introduced into Queen

Mary's presence at once, and read the illegal sentence.

"My Lords," she answered, "the day long looked for and long desired has come at last. And what better end can I have than to render up my life for my Faith? For thus, and because of this it is that I am to suffer. Nevertheless, as to having compassed the death of the Queen, your sovereign," she continued, placing her right palm on a New Testament which lay open upon her table, "note my latest words: I call the living God to witness that I neither sought it nor even imagined it."

"Madam," interposed the Earl of Kent, "that book there is a Popish testament, not Christ's free and blessed gospel. An oath on such a book is of no value."

"It is a Catholic book," she exclaimed, "and for this reason I value it all the more, and you ought the more to regard my oath taken upon it."

"Madam," continued the Earl, "your life must have been the death of our New Religion, while your death—God grant it!—will be the life of it."

"Heard you that?" asked the Queen of her attendants. "My Lord of Kent has now betrayed the secret. It is my religion, then. It is my religion," she repeated, with intense emphasis

on the word "religion," "which is the cause of my death."

She then requested the assistance of a priest and the aid of her confessor; but this, she was informed, was not only contrary to the law of the land, but repugnant to the principles of the Queen's Highness's religion and the restored Gospel, and dangerous to the souls and bodies of the Commissioners. They could not possibly tolerate idolatry, massing nor superstition. Her reasonable request, therefore, was thus cruelly and shamefully denied. Its denial abundantly serves to show to what practical infamy Elizabeth's despicable tools had descended.

The last night of the Queen's earthly life, when necessary business was despatched, was spent in self-recollection, meditation on Our Blessed Redeemer's Passion, and in mental prayer. If the Sacraments of the Church were denied her,* —those divinely-appointed aids for gaining strength to pass the valley of the shadow of death securely—yet, when these were intentionally refused or could not be had, her holy religion

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* Conn, in his "Life of the Queen," asserts that, by virtue of an indult from Pope Pius V., she administered the Holy Eucharist to herself on the morning of her execution; but this, judging by her own letter to that Pontiff, is evidently a misconception.

abundantly sustained her soul in these latest trials. She slept but little, she ate sparingly; and, when not engaged in her religious duties, bade farewell, with kind words and some suitable memorials for all, to her devoted and sorrow-smitten servants. On their knees they asked forgiveness for all their defects and shortcomings. She, on her part, forgave them cheerfully; and in turn asked their forgiveness likewise. She then gave them her hand to kiss. This parting touched all even to tears. The remembrance of it would remain green and fresh as long as life lasted.

The doors of the Great Hall of Fotheringay Castle were thrown open about seven. It was lit up within by a few pendant lamps. Outside, from a very early hour, Thomas Andrews, Sheriff of the Shire, and several gentlemen of the county, with their retainers, on whose countenances the impress of Sorrow was stamped, had long waited for admittance in the chilling cold of a February morning. The fog lay heavily all around; the mists were thick, the ground white with frost. Many seemed terribly depressed; the silence amongst them was solemn and trying. Soon, however, the augmented guard of the Castle passed in, and then nearly two hundred spectators, pressing forwards, filled the Hall, save in its centre, on every side.

At eight in the morning Queen Mary entered the Hall dressed in robes of state, bearing a book of devotions and an ivory crucifix in her hands, and attended by two of her ladies. These, however, were thrust back by force, and the doors of the Hall closed.

When her attendants had been forced out, and their wailing was heard throughout the Hall, Mary quietly remarked—"Certainly the Queen your Mistress, being a maiden, will vouchsafe in regard to womanhood that I have some of my own women about me when I die." A silence that might have been felt pervaded the whole assembly. As the Queen spoke no one stirred. But from the Commissioners there was no response.

"You might, I think, grant me a far greater courtesy were I a woman of lesser calling than the Queen of Scots." The Earl of Kent winced.

Observing that the authorities were looking at each other askance, and seeing some of them much cowed, she continued with greater vigour—"Am not I your Queen's own cousin, a descendant of the blood royal of Henry VII., a married Queen of France, and the anointed Queen of Scotland?"

At this the Earl of Kent relented; the two ladies were hastily readmitted, together with four of the officers of her household.

Melville, her old steward, overcome with grief

on his admission, fell upon his knees in a paroxysm of sorrow, unable to speak.

"Good Master Melville," she said, giving him her hand to kiss, and raising him up, "cease to lament for me, for this day thou shalt see the certain end of Mary Stuart's troubles." She then graciously kissed him on the cheek.

Her two ladies-in-waiting, Jane Kennedy and Elspeth Curle, were permitted to remain with her, but her Majesty's reiterated request to see her clerical almoner, Le Préau, was again cruelly refused,* the Lords "not thinking it proper to waste so much time about a priest." At the same time one of them heartlessly remarked that her beads, her *Agnus Dei*, and the crucifix she carried were, in their judgment, "superstition enough already." †

The preparations for her death, the raised and railed platform in the middle of the dark-draped

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* In her letter to her confessor she complains bitterly of the cruelty of her enemies in refusing her his spiritual aid, and earnestly solicits his prayers.

† The Earl of Kent and Robert Beale, in their official account sent to the Lords of the Council, thus put on record this fact:—"Shee demaunded to speake with her prieste, which was denyed unto her, the rather for that she came with a superstityous paire of beades and a crucifix."—See Sir Henry Ellis' "Original Letters," Second Series, pp. 111–113.

Hall, the covered block, the axe, and the masked executioner in black velvet, never caused her to tremble, even when, in all their startling solemnity, they first met her gaze. With no quailing she advanced with her accustomed stately grace and majesty to the centre of the Hall. Paulet assisted her to mount the scaffold, on which she said, "I thank you, Sir. It is the last trouble I shall give you, and the most acceptable service you have ever done me." * She then seated herself on a stool prepared for her, during the reading of the warrant.

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* On the very same day this man thus wrote to Mr. William Davison:—"Sir Drue Drury, with his hearty due commendations unto you, prayeth your favourable mean for his revocation, which he would not desire (notwithstanding his great and urgent occasions) *if the cause of his abode were not through the mercy and favour of our good God clearly removed, to the great comfort of himself and all other faithful Christian subjects.* I will say nothing of his careful service in this place, because his zeal to religion, duty to his sovereign, and love to his country are very well known unto you. The children of God have daily experience of His mercy and favour towards such as can be content to depend on His merciful providence, Who doth not see as man seeth, but His times and seasons are always just and perfectly good. *The same God make us all thankful for his late singular favours* [*i.e.* the murder of the Queen!!], and thus I leave to trouble you, wishing you all felicity in Our Lord Jesus. From Fotheringay, the 8th of February 1586."—"Letter-book of Sir Amias Paulet," pp. 364–365. London: 1874.

Here the Queen addressed those assembled, in her clear and beautiful voice, which throughout, even to her latest and last most pious aspirations, never failed nor faltered. In brief and pregnant sentences of no ambiguity, for the last time she solemnly protested her innocence of all plots against Queen Elizabeth's life,* and maintained her unshaken fidelity to the One Ancient Faith, which she thanked God she was thus enabled publicly to confess. She reminded all present that she herself was a sovereign princess, in no way subject to the English Parliament, but brought there to suffer by injustice and violence. "After my death," she declared, "many things at present hidden in darkness will come to life. Rejoicing to shed my blood for my Religion,"—for she knew well enough why she was about to suffer death,—"I place all my hope and confidence in Him, my gracious Lord, Whose image I hold in my hand. I pardon all mine enemies—whom my latest words shall not prejudice—from the bottom of my heart; and from all to whom I have done amiss or given offence, I humbly ask pardon, likewise."

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* In her written letter to the King of France—penned just before her death—she declares that she dies quite innocent of any crime against Elizabeth.

Upon this Dr. Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, pushing himself forward, began a preachment, in which he contrived to be at once coarse, canting, and insulting. This was the burden of his words :— His royal mistress, the Supreme and beneficent Governess of them all, was bound to execute justice on the body of the condemned one, but, like a mother to all, was most anxiously watchful for the good of her soul. Elizabeth, as he asserted, had therefore commissioned him to bring her into that fold, in which the true sheep were fed on gospel-truths, and to induce her to renounce the communion of that idolatrous and apostate Church, which by law had been abolished, and in which if she remained and died, she would be most certainly damned.

Queen Mary, thus persecuted by this repulsive and extravagant fanatic, intreated him on such an occasion to hold his tongue and let her be at peace. But he was not to be put down. Though she quietly turned away from him and his disquieting noise, which was all she could do ; yet he went round to another part of the platform, stared at her, thumbed his bible, selected his text, and began his disturbing utterances once again.

At last Lord Shrewsbury, who saw that the onlookers were much wanting in sympathy with the preacher, suggested that he should give over

preaching and proceed to prayer. He did so at once. His prayer, however, was only the same sermon put into other words. He exclaimed, he lifted up his voice, and he cursed. But Mary heard him not.

Engrossed in devotion, she was repeating the beautiful Psalms, *Beati quorum*, *Miserere*, and that of Compline, *Qui habitat*, during the Dean's "exercise" as it was termed; when one of the peers —touched by the creature's heartless cruelty— suggested that he should stop and stand aside. He did so.

The Queen then arose, and uttering a most touching intercession for the afflicted Catholics of the country, for her son James, and for Queen Elizabeth, heard by all in painful silence, held up her crucifix and exclaimed—"As Thine arms O Blessed Saviour of the World were stretched out upon the Cross, so now, O Lord, receive me into the arms of Thy mercy and forgive me all my sins."

"Madam," retorted the Earl of Kent,* "leave

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* This man (Henry Grey, sixth Earl of Kent) was of an ancient family; but evidently a person in great want of good breeding. His grandfather, one of Henry VIII.'s favourites, became so inveterate a gamester, that he impoverished his estate, and died ignobly at the George Inn in Lombard Street in 1523. The sixth earl, his grandson, was a sour Puritan of a bad type. He married an old woman and died without

alone such Popish trumpery; and bear Christ rather in your heart than in your hand."

"I cannot hold in my hand the representation of His Passion," she meekly but firmly replied, "without at the same time bearing Him in my heart."

Upon this her two maids, bathed in tears, began to disrobe her. But the executioners interfered, as it was said to be their duty, and they looked for certain perquisites. The sight of the Queen thus prepared for death touched to the heart a large number of the spectators. Her servants were greatly overcome. One was in paroxysms of grief. But Her Majesty bade them bear up with fortitude, gave them her parting blessing, and asked their prayers.

One of them placed a handkerchief over her eyes, upon which the headsman and his assistant guided her towards the block.

Kneeling down, she exclaimed repeatedly, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Save these beautiful words, nothing was heard but the sobs and groans of the onlookers.

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lawful issue. Sir William Dugdale wrote of him in very mild terms that "he evinced much more zeal" for Queen Mary's "destruction than befitted a person of honour." Like many other of the base peers of that period he was in truth a disgrace to his rank and dignity.

And now the executioner raised the axe. But the sounds of weeping evidently disconcerted him. It fell with a flash, and inflicted a deep wound on the skull. The poor sufferer never moved. At his third stroke the head of the saintly Queen rolled on to the scaffold. The deed of shame and infamy was now complete.

Holding it up, as usual, he cried out—as a shudder ran through the crowd at the sickening sight, and a wail of agony arose,—"God save Queen Elizabeth!"

"Amen!" responded the dignified minister who had been cut short in his preaching, "and so may all her enemies perish!"

"So perish all the enemies of the Gospel!" exclaimed the Earl of Kent, throwing up his velvet cap as a token of satisfaction.

But there was no single response, no one said "Amen."

Pity, admiration, and sympathy now filled the hearts of many, as the sobs which were heard indicated; for Truth and Justice had been grossly outraged by the Murder then committed by Elizabeth*; while the repulsive cant which had

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* To use the words of Whitaker, the accomplished historian, Elizabeth was one "who had no sensibilities of tenderness and no sentiments of generosity; who looked not forward to the awful verdict of History; and who shuddered

been there exhibited sickened to the heart's core several of the red-eyed onlookers, whose secret sympathies were against the innovators and their cruel policy of tyranny and blood; and who deplored all the evil consequences which were seen to exist, by reason thereof,—and which, though years have intervened, still live on.

Her body, after embalmment, was buried some months afterwards at Peterborough,* but subsequently removed by her son James† to Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster.

William Davison, one of the Secretaries of State,—who throughout these proceedings had been the tool of Queen Mary's enemies, and had thus seen the bloody deed, which they had so artfully planned, completed,—was sacrificed,‡ in order

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not at the infinitely more awful doom of God. I blush, as an Englishman, to think that this was done by an English Queen, and one whose name I was taught to lisp in my infancy as the honour of her sex and the glory of our isle."

* The Puritans were extremely angry that Bishop William Wickham of Lincoln, who preached Her Majesty's funeral sermon, did not openly declare his conviction of "her certain damnation."—See Fuller's "Church History," book ix. p. 181.

† The most scandalous case of dissimulation, falsehood, and hypocrisy which is on record is that in which the Queen, writing to James the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, makes a solemn appeal to Heaven that she was entirely innocent of his mother's death; and, furthermore, that she held in abhorrence the sins of hypocrisy and dissimulation.

‡ Of Davison's policy, under the charge against him, Dr. Lingard thus wrote:—"In court he acted with more reserve

that, when the opinion of Catholic Europe was expressed—as the Court agents abroad informed them it soon might be—a scape-goat should be at hand to bear their dark and weighty sins. The Queen had been specially angry with Lord Burghley, and he was in sore disgrace. But, as he declared to Her Majesty, he submitted wholly to her blessed will; she was as light and life to him; and thus endeavoured to soothe her by quoting texts of Scripture or by nauseous flattery.* His mock humility was so ably assumed and so artfully exhibited, that he was soon restored to favour. Davison alone suffered. He was tried in the Star Chamber, condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, and imprisoned for years. But these tactics did not shield the Queen from the strong condemnation she so richly and righteously deserved.

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than prudence. To the invectives of the Crown lawyers he replied, that to acknowledge the offence would be to tarnish his own reputation; to contend with his Sovereign would be to transgress the duty of a subject; that they did him injustice by reading garbled passages from his answer, let them read the whole, or rather let them read none; for it contained secrets not fit for the public ear; he would only say that he had acted under the persuasion that he was obeying the Queen's commands, and for the rest would throw himself on her mercy."—"History of England," by John Lingard, D.D., vol. vi. p. 232. Dublin: 1874.

* See Strype's "Annals," vol. iii. p. 371, and Appendices Nos. 144–146.

In the year of Grindal's resignation,—to turn awhile to the other side of the picture—Father Cornelius,* a Cornishman of Irish extraction, came back to England—one amongst the numerous adherents to the old religious system. He laboured assiduously and zealously for eleven years, during which he won for himself great admiration from men and many remarkable divine graces from Heaven. A sacred and solemn revelation, full of expressive teaching, was made to him, six years before his death, with regard to a deceased nobleman, thus :—

"John, Lord Stourton,† who was a Catholic, had through fear in those terrible times conformed to the State religion, having greater regard for his temporal than for his spiritual and eternal interests. Lest, however, Death should surprise

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* Father John Cornelius, *alias* Mohun, was born at Bodmin, in Cornwall, of poor parents. Sir John Arundell of Traherne, an "occasional conformist," gave him an education at Oxford, but he subsequently went to Rheims under Dr. Allen, and afterwards to the English College at Rome. Having been ordained priest, he came back to England in 1583, and gained his rest and reward by suffering a cruel death at Dorchester on July 4th, 1594. He had previously been admitted to the Society of Jesus.—See "State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. ccxlviii. n. 75, A.D. 1594. There is an original portrait of Father Cornelius at the Gesù, Rome.

† John, eighth Baron Stourton (whose wife was Frances, daughter of William, Lord Cobham), died 13th October 1588.

him in this sad neglect of his duty he entertained two priests in his house; and had taken all imaginable precautions that both should never be absent at the same time, being fully resolved to die within the pale of the true Church. But God's inscrutable providence and just judgment did not allow this; for when he met with the accident which carried him off, both priests were absent at the same time, nor could the most anxious search discover where they were. Still, God in His great mercy infused into the Baron's heart so lively a sense of the horror of his sin, and so deep a contrition, that, not satisfied with begging pardon of God and promising within his own mind amendment and satisfaction, he called together his wife and steward and all the family, and with floods of tears acknowledged before them his crime and the scandal he had given, declaring that he was willing to make amends were it even by shedding his blood.

"He expressed his grief at being deprived of the rites of the Catholic Church when he most wished to receive them; and protested that he died a Catholic, out of which religion there was no salvation. Then, imploring God's mercy, he expired. He not only besought them all to bear witness of this his act before both men and the dreadful tribunal of God, but even, it is said, made a confession of his sins to a servant man in sign of

his sincere repentance, desiring thereby to testify his full determination to have confessed to a priest had time and opportunity permitted.

"Father Cornelius, when asked his opinion if in this case it was lawful to pray for the deceased lord, replied that it was both lawful and obligatory."

The following incident is related by Dame Dorothy Arundell, the half-sister of the deceased lord, in her "MS. Acts of the Blessed Martyr Cornelius":—

"One day my mother, Lady Arundell, begged Father Cornelius to offer up Mass for the soul of her son John, Lord Stourton, which he consented to do. When at the altar he remained a considerable time in prayer between the consecration and the memento for the dead. After Mass was finished, he made an exhortation on the words, *Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur*—'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord,'—and then told us that he had just seen a vision. Before him was presented a forest of immense size, in which all was fire and flame, and in the midst he perceived the soul of the deceased lord, who, with tears and lamentable cries, accused himself of the evil life he had led for several years, especially whilst at the Court; and his dissimulation in frequenting the Protestant Church, though still a Catholic, to the

scandal and grievous hurt of the souls of his relations. But above all, in the most bitter terms, he accused himself of having been one of the forty-seven chosen by Queen Elizabeth to condemn the innocent Mary, Queen of Scots, a crime for which he had experienced so deep a contrition that it had hastened his death. After these avowals of the deceased lord to Father Cornelius, he exclaimed in the words of Holy Scripture, *Miseremini mei, miseremini mei, saltem vos, amici mei, quia manus Domini tetigit me*—'Have pity on me, have pity on me, O! ye my friends, for the hand of the Lord hath touched me.' Having implored the Father to assist him with prayers, the appearance, by which he had been recognized, vanished.

"Father Cornelius wept much in relating his vision to us, and all the household, who to the number of about eighty persons were listening to him, and united their tears with his. The server of the Mass, John Carey, afterwards a sufferer for the Faith with Father Cornelius, saw and heard all that passed in the vision; but as for myself and the rest of those present, we only perceived, while it was manifested, a glimmering reflection like that of live coals on the wall against which the altar stood." *

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* See "Records of the English Province," vol. iii. pp. 444, 445; and "Life of Father Weston," in "The

The sufferings and death of Margaret Clitheroe, already referred to, must now be narrated at some length.* She was the daughter of Thomas Middleton, citizen and wax-chandler of York, and sometime sheriff. He, there is good reason for believing, was the third son of Esquire Middleton, of Stockeld,† and his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Gascoigne of Gawthorpe. She married John Clitheroe,‡ a well-to-do tradesman of York, who became subsequently one of the city chamberlains.

"As touching her worldly state and condition," as her biographer declares, "she was about thirty years of age, and to her beautiful and gracious soul God gave her a body with comely face and beauty correspondent. She was of sharp

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Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers," Second Series, pp. 128, 129. London: 1875. An account is also given by Bishop Challoner in his "Memoirs of Missionary Priests."

* The author is largely indebted for most of the facts related to Father John Mush's "Life of Margaret Clitheroe," as well as to Bishop Challoner's "Memoirs of Missionary Priests."

† Sir William Middleton of Stockeld, Knt., had by Margaret, his third wife, a son, Thomas. These Middletons were allied with the Vavasours, Wentworths, Calverleys, and Gascoigns. His grandson, William, signed the Pedigree in the Visitation of 1612 by Richard St. George.—See "Foster's Yorkshire Pedigrees," p. 286. London: 1875.

‡ He had a brother, William Clitheroe, who had been ordained subdeacon at Rheims, on March 19, 1580, deacon at Chalons, and priest at Soissons on June 9th, 1582.

and ready wit, with rare discretion in all her actions, a plentiful mother in children, and her husband of competent wealth and ability."

She appears to have been brought up without any very definite religious belief; but, having heard of the sufferings endured by so many for the Old Religion, she attached herself thereto with great sincerity and devotion. Declining to attend the services of the Calvinists, she was several times imprisoned; separated on two occasions for more than two years from husband and children. But, to quote her biographer again, "she turned all things to her good, and sucked honey out of the cruelty of her enemies. They persecuted, and she thereby learned patience; they shut her up into close prison, and she learned thereby to forget and despise the World; they separated her from home, children, and husband, and she thereby became familiar with God; they sought to terrify her, and she thereby increased in most glorious constancy and fortitude."

Her supposed offence was that she had harboured priests, and allowed Mass to be said in her husband's house, and had sent her son Francis abroad to be educated in a foreign seminary. On March 10th, 1586, the Vice-President of the Northern Council and others, therefore, authorized her house to be searched. The sheriff's officers coming suddenly and finding a youth, whom they

stripped and threatened with rods, induced him to show them the priests' chamber, where they found a portable altar, a missal, some altar-breads, and "church-stuff," *i.e.* priestly vestments; upon which discovery both she and her husband were at once committed to prison.

She was arraigned four days afterwards, and brought from the Castle to the common hall. She was there formally accused of having, contrary to the laws, harboured and maintained Jesuit and seminary priests, traitors to the Queen's Majesty, and that she had divers times idolatrously, wickedly, and unlawfully heard Mass, &c.

Mr. Justice Clinch, standing up, asked her thus,—"Margaret Clitheroe, how say you, are you guilty of the indictment, or no?"

To which, with a smiling face, she mildly replied, "I know of no offence whatsoever, of which I should confess myself guilty."

"You have certainly harboured Jesuits and massing-priests, sure enemies to the Queen's Majesty and the Gospel," retorted the judge.

"I never maintained any enemies of the Queen," she replied, "and God defend that I should."

She thus declined, in a beautiful spirit of self-sacrifice, either to betray her friends, implicate members of her family, or injure those of the old clergy who had rendered her any spiritual aid.

"How will you be tried?" his lordship again asked.

"Having given no offence whatsoever, my lord, I need no trial," was her calm reply.

"But you *have* offended against the statutes, as these monuments of superstition and idolatry plainly show," continued the judge, pointing to some sacred vessels and vestments which lay on the table; "and, therefore, you must be tried, and at once."

"If you say I have offended, and that I must be tried, I will be by none save but by God and your own consciences."

Some officers of the court, taking up the albs and chasubles, here put them upon two common men; who, being vested in mockery, seized two chalices and a handful of wafer-breads, made the sign of the Cross in mockery, bowed down in derision, and then holding them up with wanton winks and coarse grimaces, exclaimed, "Behold your gods in whom you believe!"

"How like you these vestments, Mistress Clitheroe?" asked one of the bystanders who had thus witnessed the antics of these irreverent buffoons.

"Well enough," she answered, "were they upon the backs of those who know how to use them to God's honour, as they were made."

She still refused to be tried, or to give any

other answer to that she had already made. The judges adjourned the court until the morrow, when she was again brought up, to whom the judge spoke thus—

"Margaret Clitheroe, yesternight we passed you over without judgment, hoping that you would be more conformable, and put yourself to the country; otherwise you must needs have the law. We see no reason for this your refusal. There be but one witness, a youth, against you, and the country must consider your case."

"Indeed and in truth!" replied the prisoner, "you have no witnesses against me but a child; and such, with a rod or an apple, or a bag of figs, you can make to say what you will."

"It is plain," remarked the judge, "that you had priests in your house; for here be their pestilent garb and goods."

"As for good Catholic priests, why should I not have them, if they come but to do me and others good?"

"They be all rascally traitors, idolators, and rank deceivers of the Queen's subjects," remarked Mr. Hurleston, one of the councillors.

"God forgive you!" replied the prisoner, with feeling; "you could not say so did you know them. I know them to be virtuous men sent by God to aid us who need them, and to save our souls."

She was again asked to plead; but, with a combination of boldness and modesty, refused to do so.

Just as the judge was about to pass sentence; one of the new preachers, Wiggington by name, a noted Puritan, stood up and addressed his lordship with great earnestness.

"Take heed what you do, my lord," said he. "You sit here to do true justice. This woman's case is touching life and death. You may not, either by God's law or by man's, condemn her to die on the slender witness of a mere boy. You should not judge her save on the credit of two or three sufficient men. Therefore, look to it, my lord, look to it. On your own head rests this cause."

"I may do it by law," retorted the judge.

"By what law?" at once asked the preacher.

"By the Queen's Majesty's law," replied the judge, "the only law we know of."

"That may be," Wiggington answered; "but not by God's law. And God's law none of us may pass over, neither the Queen's Majesty nor any beside."

She was once more requested to plead; but again answered as before.

On this, one Rhodes, a justice, is reported to have interfered, asking, "Why stand we here all the day over this naughty woman? Let us with

no more ado despatch her." This was determined on. Those in court, behind the barriers, and in distant corners—the interested on-lookers—stretched themselves forward with anxiety to hear the formal sentence.

The judge solemnly rose, cleared his throat with an unctuous noise and upturned eyes, and thus delivered it :—

"Margaret Clitheroe. Having refused to put yourself to the country, this must be your sentence : You must return from whence you came, and there, in the lowest part of the prison, be stripped naked, laid down with your back upon the ground, and as much weight laid upon you as you are able to bear, and so to continue three days without meat or drink, except a little barley-bread and puddle water ; and the third day, your hands and feet being tied to posts and a sharp stone being put under your back, you are to be pressed to death."

She heard the awful words without fear or shrinking, merely remarking, with humility and modesty, in reply, "If this judgment be according to your conscience, I pray God, when your own time comes, to give you a better judgment before Him. For this right heartily do I thank the Most High!"

She was then pinioned by the sheriff's men, and led back to prison. There Sir Thomas Fairfax

and others earnestly implored her to save herself and family by going even to one sermon at church. Some of the York ministers repeated this request, but in vain. One, Pease, asked "Why refuse you to come to 'Our Church,' we having so plain and sure testimonies to show on our side for the truth?"

"I believe in that One Church, not made by man, which hath Seven Sacraments and One unalterable Faith. In that I will to live and die."

Wigginton, another minister, informed her that he had had a vision of the Person of Our Lord, who had assured him of his own election and salvation; and therefore he trusted she would regard him as a faithful minister.

Mr. Toby Matthew, Dean of Durham, and the Lord Mayor of York (who had married her mother), likewise tried to make an impression upon her; but it was of no avail. She declined to give up the Faith.

It was decreed that she should suffer on Lady-day, and at the York Tolbooth. She looked forward to her end, without fear, and in full confidence of God's sustaining power to enable her to endure. She passed the last night of her life in prayer; and had fasted all the previous day. The prison-keeper's wife, though no Catholic, in charity promised to induce the executioners to hasten her death as soon as possible; but the

sufferer replied, "No, good Mrs. Yoward; not so. God defend that I should procure any to be guilty of my death and blood."

Lady-day dawned brightly. The golden sunshine had early lit the fretted towers of the Minster, and gilded the many spires of the parish churches; all around the City it fell on the bright green meadows watered by the Ouse. The clouds above were light, the air was clear, the sky blue. Nature seemed to speak eloquently of man's resurrection from temporal death; while the blessed feast-day itself told of God's grace and mercy, and of Mary's co-operation and obedience.

The two sheriffs of the city, one of whom, Gibson, was horrified at this legal atrocity, brought the condemned one to the place of execution before eight o'clock. She went cheerfully, walking bare-footed, and distributing her alms. Coming to the appointed place, quite calmly she knelt down and prayed. Some ministers near, tormenting her for the last time with exhortations and vain words, asked her to join with them in prayer.

"I will not pray with you, nor shall you pray with me," she replied. "I will neither say 'Amen' to your prayers, nor shall you to mine."

She then interceded openly for the Holy Father, for the cardinals, for all true bishops and priests, and for all Christian princes, more especially for

Queen Elizabeth, that God would turn her to the Catholic Faith, and that so, after this mortal life, she might enjoy the peace of Heaven.

Fawcett, the other sheriff, said, "Mistress Clitheroe, remember that you die for treason."

"No, no, Mr. Sheriff," she answered; "deceive not yourself, I pray you. I die for the love of my Lord and Saviour and for the Ancient Faith."

"Put off your apparel, then, now," he continued; "for you must die naked, as judgment was pronounced."

On her knees, and in piteous accents, with tears, she and other women earnestly asked that she might retain her linen under-garment. But this was rudely denied her. Then she further implored that, for the honour of womanhood, only women might undress her; and that the spectators would then avert their gaze. Eight beggars, four men and four women, had been hired to do the murder, and stood by ready for the work. Her clothes were removed, and thereupon the women drew over her body a habit of linen. She was then lain at length on the ground, with a kerchief over her face. A large, sharp flint stone, of many angular points, was placed under her back. Her ankles were tied together, and her wrists affixed by cords to two posts. A stout oak door, supported at the edges by these and other posts, was then placed

upon her body. She continued to pray audibly, "O Jesu, good Jesu, good Jesu, have mercy upon me," as the hired and heartless ruffians rudely heaped stone after stone upon the door. The rough fall and increased weight of every addition produced unknown agony. But she is said to have struggled not, and only prayed more earnestly. The few spectators sickened at the sight, as during a full quarter of an hour the stones were being piled on to the amount of nine hundredweight; while the poor sufferer's agonizing prayers to her Master grew fainter and feebler, for her frame quivered and her swollen tongue was dry. To some the minutes seemed hours. At length, after the crash of a weightier stone than any, no more prayers were heard; the suppressed sob of suffering and the awful and prolonged sigh of extremest agony, found relief and rest in death.

Thus of one more obstinate adherent of the Old Religion England was rid.

Should any reader conceive this to be an exceptional case of punishment even unto death, inflicted on a woman during Queen Elizabeth's reign, it becomes a duty to point out that such an idea is a complete misconception. Women as well as men were constantly treated with the severest cruelty. Record after record occurs of their imprisonment and torture. Hundreds died

in the northern gaols, after years of suffering, worn out with punishment and misery. Mistress Margaret Ward, a lady of Cheshire, and Mistress Ann Line, a widowed gentlewoman, both suffered death at Tybourne; the first in 1588, for aiding a poor persecuted priest, Father Richard Watson,* to escape from Bridewell; the second, on February 27th, 1601, for having harboured a priest, as was supposed; for the "offence" was not proved. The first-named was often whipped most infamously, and tortured acutely. For eight succeeding days she was hung up by the hands to a beam, her feet scarce touching the ground; a sharp punishment, which sometimes caused her to swoon. She was then taken down, carefully tended until she revived and recovered, then scourged anew, and hung up in the same way once again. She was offered her liberty if she would go to church, but declined. When her aid to the poor priest was thrown in her teeth as

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* Of Father Watson, it is on record, "the authorities" thrust him into a dungeon so low and so strait, that he could neither stand up in it, nor lay himself down at his full length to sleep. Here they loaded him with irons, and kept him for a whole month on bread and water; of which they allowed him so small a pittance that it was scarce enough to keep him alive; not suffering anyone to come near him to comfort him or speak to him.—"Memoirs of Missionary Priests," vol. i. p. 234. Derby edition.

an act of disrespect to the Queen, she replied that if Her Majesty had the ordinary feelings of a woman, and had known how Father Watson was suffering, she herself would surely have aided him to have escaped. When Mrs. Line was ready to die she embraced the rope as well as she was able, being old, weak, and ill, exclaiming, "I am about to suffer for having harboured a priest. So far from repenting for having done so, I rejoice; and would, with all my heart, that instead of having harboured one I had entertained a thousand." Two priests, Mark Barkworth and Roger Filcock, suffered death at the same time.

About the period that Campion and Parsons arrived in England, it is said by some that Philip II. of Spain, who was also Sovereign of the Low Countries, in concert with the Guises of France, had begun to make military and naval preparations for the conquest of England. At all events they were commenced soon afterwards. It must be frankly admitted that Elizabeth had given him great provocation for going to war. She had artfully fomented rebellion against him, and by the aid of spies, secret agents, and traitors, had done him all the mischief in her power. She had notoriously intercepted and seized his treasure, had provokingly engaged foreign mercenaries to fight against his troops, had allowed her mariners to plunder and massacre his defenceless subjects, as

well as those of his American colonies. When he quietly and privately complained, shuffling and sophistry were the only replies vouchsafed. When, again, he expostulated with dignity through his ambassador, she and her ministers descended to the use of obvious and acknowledged falsehoods. Yet for her liberty and life she had been indebted to Philip in byegone days. Throughout all the preparations, however, Walsingham had been indefatigable in watching them step by step, and in checking King Philip indirectly on all occasions and at every point. When he sought pecuniary aid from the Venetians and Genoese, the great money-lenders of the age, Elizabeth's ministers, perfectly aware of the negotiations, succeeded both in damaging King Philip's credit, and in causing him some inconvenience.[1] But, having secured new vessels, naval stores, and efficient seamen from Denmark and the Hanse towns, and by great general efforts both in Spain and the Low Countries, obtained co-operation, he began to make his final plans.

In 1587 it became evident from reliable information received, that the expedition would sail in the spring of the following year. Accordingly every endeavour to meet the enemy was made by the Queen's advisers, and a fleet was assembled of some size, consisting of about one hundred and forty vessels. These were furnished by the cities

of London, Bristol, Harwich, Sandwich, and other seaports; by the merchant adventurers and by private individuals. To Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, who was of the Old Religion, was given the chief command. Under him were Raleigh, Hawkins, Drake, and Frobisher. Lord Henry Seymour, with a portion of the fleet, watched the coast of Flanders.

Three armies were gathered together, each consisting of about twenty-five thousand men. One was discreetly distributed along the southern coast, specially near probable landing-places; a second was placed near Tilbury Fort on the Thames, to protect the City of London, while it was arranged that a third should be in attendance on the person of the Sovereign. The Queen, who stayed at Havering-at-Bower, St. Edward's ancient palace, absurdly arrayed in a breast-plate, paid a short visit to this camp, where Lord Leicester,* though

* "As for your person," wrote Leicester to her, "being the most dainty and sacred thing we have in this world to care for, I cannot, most dear Queen, consent that you should expose it to danger. For upon your well-doing consists all the safety of your whole kingdom; and, therefore, preserve that above all."—"Hardwicke Papers," vol. i. p. 577. She was allowed to come for a few days to see the forts and troops, and spend a short time with her favourite, who, however, distinctly forbad her remaining with the army or in the camp. When Lord Leicester visited Lord and Lady Shrewsbury at Chatsworth, the Queen had the execrable

a most incompetent general, commanded, and Her Majesty made an artificial and somewhat bombastic speech to the troops:—"I am come amongst you," she remarked, "not for my sport and recreation," (an indirect reply to those who said that, as usual, she had only followed her favourite,) "but, as being resolved in the heat of the fight, to live and die amongst you all. I am ready, for my blood and my people, to lay mine honour in the dust. I know I have but the body of a feeble woman, but I possess the heart of a king, and of a King of England too."

The people were enthusiastic in coming forward to defend their country. Those who adhered to the Ancient Faith were not less earnest and zealous than their neighbours. On this occasion, and, indeed, on all others, where patriotism was brought to the test, the Catholics proved that no degree of oppression could make them forget their duties as citizens or as subjects. Even Hume admits that Catholic gentlemen, though excluded

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taste to write thus of him, acknowledging his hosts' attentions:—"We should do him great wrong (holding him in that place of favour We do) in case We should not let you understand in how thankful sort *We accept the same at both your hands, not as done unto him, but to Our Own self, reputing him as another Ourself*," &c.—"Lodge," vol. ii. p. 155.

from all offices of trust and authority, entered as volunteers in the Queen's fleet and army. Some equipped ships at their own charge, and gave the command of them to Protestants; others were active in animating their tenants, vassals, and neighbours, to the defence of their hearths and homes. Thus, at a sore crisis, when internal dissensions might have produced national ruin, and when an excellent opportunity had arisen to disorganize the plans of the Council and to make their cruel enemies and persecutors then lick the dust, the afflicted and sorely-tried Catholics were nobly patriotic and marvellously self-denying. Facts like this are of far greater moment and value than words. These facts cannot be gainsayed.

On the side of the Spaniards there now lay near Lisbon a mighty fleet of nearly a hundred and forty vessels of war, with a corresponding number of transports—a grand and imposing sight. They had no less than twelve thousand seamen and galley-slaves, three thousand pieces of ordnance, and twenty-two thousand troops, officered by the noblest, the most refined, and the most gallant of Spain. In May, Philip visited the fleet, having received a blessed banner from Pope Sixtus V.* and His Holiness's good wishes for

* Felix Peretti—(A.D. 1585–1590)—a Pontiff of humble birth, but of great governing powers and high principles.

success. Perex, Duke of Medina Sidonia was in command, aided by Don Martinez de Ricaldi, a mariner of great experience. The King had an account of what he termed "the most happy Armada," set forth and printed in Latin and other languages, while Cardinal Allen addressed "An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland," in Latin, urging them to aid the Spaniards and denouncing the Queen in language as plain and forcible as that used of their opponents by her own new bishops. His Eminence, or Robert Parsons, (for some say it was first drafted by him,) seems to have caught something of the spirit of Bale, Pilkington, and Sandys. The "Admonition," however, did not involve a question of style or spirit, but of fact. It is to be feared that the facts stated therein are but too true, and cannot be denied nor disproved. As paragraph after paragraph is faithfully and impartially considered, melancholy though the strong and plain-spoken expressions and charges in it appear, yet it is impossible with any honesty to deny that they are in the main, and unhappily, correct

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He encouraged the Holy League in France, formed to defend the Faith against the Hugenots; and was active both in maintaining the rights of the Primate of Christendom, and in putting down innovation and error.

and only too true. These are their exact terms in its Old English form :—

"She [Queen Elizabeth] is a bastard, the daughter of Henry VIII., by his incestuous commerce with Anne Boleyn.

"She was intruded by force, unjustly deposing the lords of the clergy, without whom no lawful Parliament could be held, nor statute made; and without any approbation of the See of Rome, contrary to the accord by King John, at the special request and procurement of the Lords and Commons, as a thing necessary to preserve the realm from the unjust usurpation of tyrants.

"As to her behaviour, she has professed herself a heretic. She usurpeth by Luciferian pride the title of Supreme Ecclesiastical Government, a thing in a woman unheard of; not tolerable to the masters of her own sect [this is an allusion to Calvin's and Knox's opinions on the subject]; and to all Catholics in the world most ridiculous, absurd, monstrous, detestable, and a very fable to the posterity.

"She is taken and known for an incestuous bastard, begotten and born in sin, of an infamous courtezan, Anne Boleyn, afterwards executed for adoultery, treason, heresy, and incest, among others with her own natural brother, which Anne Boleyn her father kept by pretended marriage in the life of his lawful wife, as he did before un-

naturally know and kepe both the said Anne's mother and sister.

"She is guilty of perjury in violating her coronation oath.

"She hath abolished the Catholic religion, profaned the sacraments, forbidden preaching, impiously spoiled the churches, deposed and imprisoned the bishops, and suppressed the monasteries.

"She hath destroyed most of the ancient nobility, putting into their houses and chambers traitors, spies, delators, and promoters, that take watch for her of all their ways, words, and writings.

"She hath raised a new nobility of men, base and impure, inflamed with infinite avarice, and ambition.

"She hath intruded a new clergy of the very refuse of the worst sort of mortal men.

"She hath made the country a place of refuge for Atheists, Anabaptists, heretics, and rebels of all nations.

"She hath polled the people, not only by more frequent and large subsidies than any other princes, but by sundry shameful guiles of lotteries, laws, decrets, falls of money, and such like deceits.

"She sells laws, licences, dispensations, pardons, &c., for money and bribes, with which she en-

riches her poor cousins and favourites. Among the latter is Leicester,* whom she took up first to serve her filthy lust; whereof to have more freedom and interest, he caused his own wife to be murdered, as afterwards, for the accomplishment of his like brutish pleasures with another noble dame, it is openly known he made away with her husband. This man over-ruleth the Chamber, Court, Council, Parliament, ports, forts, seas, ships, tenders, men, munition, and all the country.

"With the aforesaid person, and with divers others, she hath abused her bodie against God's lawes, to the disgrace of princely majestie and the whole nation's reproache, by unspeakable and incredible variety of lust, which modesty suffereth not to be remembered; neyther were it to chaste

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* "We are told that among the females, married or unmarried, who formed the Court of Elizabeth, two only escaped his solicitations; that his first wife was murdered by his order; that he disowned his marriage with the second, for the sake of a more favoured mistress; and that to obtain that mistress he first triumphed over her virtue, and then administered poison to her husband. To these instances has been added a long catalogue of crimes, of treachery to his friends, of assassination of his enemies, and of acts of injustice and extortion towards those who had offended his pride or refused to bend to his pleasure."—"History of England," by J. Lingard, D.D., vol. vi. p. 253. Dublin: 1874.

eares to be uttered how shamefully she hath defiled and infamed her person and country, and made her court as a trappe, by this damnable and detestable art to entangle in sinne, and overthrowe the yonger sorte of the nobilitye and gentlemen of the lande; whereby she is become notorious to the Worlde, and in other countryes a common fable for this her turpitude, which in so highe degre, namely in a woman and a queene, deserveth not onlie deposition, but all vengeance, both of God and man; and cannot be tollerated without eternal infamie of our whole countrie, the whole worlde diriding our effeminate dastardie, that have suffered such a creature almost thirty years together to raigne both over our bodies and soules, and to have the chief regiment of all our affaires, as well spirituall as temporal, to the extinguishinge not onley of religion but of all chaste livinge and honesty.

"She does not marry, because she cannot confine herself to one man; and to the condemnation of chaste and lawful marriage, she forced the very Parliament to give consent to a law that none should be named for her successor, savinge the natural, that is to saie bastard-borne, child of her own bodie."

(Here is an allusion "to her unlawfull, longe concealed, or fained issue.")

"She confederates with rebels of all nations,

and is known to be the first and principal fountain of all those furious rebellions in Scotland, France, and Flandres; sending abroad by her ministers, as is proved by intercepted letters and confessions, numbers of intelligencers, spies, and practisers, in most princes' courts, not only to give notice of news, but to deal with the discontented; and hath sought to destroy the persons of the Pope's Holiness and the King of Spain.

"She is excessively proud, obstinate, and impenitent, though she has been excommunicated eighteen years.

"She hath murdered bishops and priests, and the Queen of Scots."

The point and pith of this terrible series of charges is then set forth. Having noticed several examples of the depositions of kings under the elder dispensation, and of emperors by the Patriarch of Christendom, it proceeds to point out that the sentence of Pope Pius V. has not been pursued, for two reasons; firstly, because of His Holiness's death, and, secondly, because of Elizabeth's great power and influence. But her determined perseverance in wickedness, her frightful persecution of those of the Old Religion, and her constant incitation to continental rebels to revolt, have induced Pope Sixtus to urge upon Philip of Spain the work now undertaken.

How all this failed of its purpose; how the Armada, thought to be invincible, was speedily scattered; how the elements fought against the Spaniards; and how their admiral frankly admitted the loss of thirty ships of the largest class, and no less than ten thousand men, is perfectly well known. Philip was thus defeated, the foreign Catholics were sorely disappointed. Many English people were frantic with joy. The Queen triumphed.

To revert once again to the innovators, their doings, and the consequences thereof.

In certain places where the gospellers had secured popularity for their new doctrines—popular, of course, with the fanatical and gloomy of a certain type, as well as with the speculative and logical, who followed Calvin,*—many of the old rules, and most of the existing directions concerning divine service, put forth in Rubrics, Injunctions, and Visitation Articles, were utterly ignored. Some of the ministers, like Dee and Cardan, (in a later reign,) practised witchcraft and invoked demons.† The amount of liberty in fact taken

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* Dean Church, with an evident dash of quiet irony, writes of "the *imposing greatness* of Calvin's theological position."—Introduction to "Hooker." Oxford: 1868.

† "Whether there be any man or woman in your parish that useth witchcraft, sorcery, charms, or unlawful prayer, or

on all sides was considerable, but with some, license had no bounds; for the restless spirit of Reform seemed to have taken possession of so many. They simply did as, and what, they willed. Thus change followed change, because the followers of these daring innovators were ever seeking after some new thing.

In many dioceses the "non-sacrament ministers" seemed likely to become a majority. Increasing in boldness, some of them, passing over the bishops, set up Presbyteries,* and held so-called "courts" or assemblies of their own, for judging their adherents. In these, all signs and sacraments were condemned. And, as legal presentments for schism or neglect were calmly ignored by such innovators, while some of the bishops confessed themselves altogether unable to suggest any remedy,† disorder continued to increase.

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invocations in Latin or English, or upon any Christian body, or beast, or any that resorteth to the same for counsell or help, and what be their names."—Sandys' Visitation Articles, 1578.

* "Whether any new presbiteries or eldershippe be lately among you erected, and by them any ministers appointed *without orders taken of the bishops*, do baptize, minister the Communion, or deale in any function ecclesiasticall?" &c.—Articles of Enquiry of John Aylmer, Bishop of London, 1586.

† "My Lorde of Llandaffe [Gervaise Babington, consecrated in 1591, and who died in 1610] would faine end these

Only on Sundays in certain parishes were any services ordinarily held. From Monday mornings until Saturday nights, more especially in villages, the churches were too often locked up and left desolate. In certain towns, however, where the "prophesyings" were popular, such devotional exhibitions or exercises afforded considerable interest to many. They steadily developed in a Puritan direction, and became more extravagant year by year.

These "prophesyings" commonly began with a long prayer from the presiding minister, who occupied the pulpit; during which the men, standing, bent forward and covered their faces with the sleeves of their gowns. The women-folk squatted and sighed.* A mystical text selected from the

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terrible [Qy. ?] disputacions; but sithense the coming of Morgan the minister, all hath bin perversitie and sore disputaciousnesse." — Author's MSS. and Excerpts. Original Letter from Robert Johnes, dated 1594. "Since the liberty of prophesying was taken up, which came but lately into the northern parts (unless it were in the towns of Newcastle and Barwick, where Knox, Macbray, and Udall had sown their tares), *all things have gone so cross and backward in our Church, that I cannot call the history of these forty years or more to mind, or express my obligations upon it, but with a bleeding heart.*"—"Works of Dr. T. Jackson," vol. iii. p. 273.

* "Apologie for the Trewthe, as sette fforthe, &c. by H. H.," p. 19. London: At the Sign of the Swan in Paul's Churchyard, 1594. See also "History of the Martin Marprelate Controversy," &c. London: 1845.

Apocalypse always ensured an exciting sitting, fo those who thought themselves specially endowed from on high,—seated and covered, and with their Bibles open and ready,—gave free rein both to Imagination and Assertion. If the minister who began the proceedings had plenty of confidence in his own judgment, a stentorian voice, a fluent delivery, and what has been called "the grace of obstinacy," he could not only talk down his contradictory opponents, but both command silence and ensure it, when the subject, in his judgment, had been well thrashed out, or wind and words failed him. If he were both physically and morally weak, no one could safely predict the result of the "prophesying,"—it might end in an unsanctified noise, a shower of Bibles across the nave, and a free fight amongst the elect. No one under such circumstances could say that the new system was dead, where such obvious and tangible signs of life were so plainly apparent.

Towards the latter half of the Queen's reign, when developments more startling than ever were current, the suggestion, long previously put forth,* that, as a further reform, "the Lord's Supper" should be made a substantial meal, and

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* See page 91 of the first volume of this book for the authority, given in the foot-note.

be partaken of in the evening,—the only suitable time of day for a supper,—was very commonly followed. To wind up the proceedings of the "Sabbath"—as the Lord's Day began to be called—in this manner was felt by some to be at once solemnizing, appropriate, and elevating. On such occasions the "ordinance," as it was termed, partook largely of the nature of a solemn social assembly for singing sacred songs, making vague admissions of spiritual weakness, eating, drinking, and praying.* How far "the Order for the Administration of the Supper" in the "Book of Common Prayer" was used or followed, is open to question and consideration. The Communion-tressels were spread with a table-cloth, loaves and wine were supplied in abundance, and in some cases profusely; platters or trenchers were placed round the table; a sop of bread and wine made, was partaken of with spoons; and so, with a

* At Thame, Oxon., at Easter, 1560, two gallons of wine were provided; at Easter, 1563, three gallons, a large amount, and no less than twenty-six loaves. It is thus also recorded:—"1591. May 2nd. Item, delivered unto William Typpinge Two Cupps for the Communion-table, ij dozen and an halfe of Platters, one pann, six spones, and half a dozen of trenchers, ij table-clothes." The tressels there were not abolished until the year 1625, when thirty shillings were expended in providing a Communion-table.—Author's MSS. and Excerpts from the Parish Accounts of Thame, Oxon.

certain grave demeanour, the sitting saints* probably contrasted that, their homely and simple rite,—in which the body was refreshed, the mind deluded, and the conscience drugged,—with the now absolutely-abolished and truly-hated Mass. It *was* a contrast indeed.

The first person amongst the English ministers, who, by the general soundness of his principles, the clearness of his thoughts, and the ability with which he set them forth, began to stem the tide of this kind of confusion, innovation, and novelty, (in his day so great, that all order and law seemed likely to be overturned, and distinct Atheism first became rampant in a once Catholic country,†)

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* "The state of the churches was deplorable; they had been left to fanatical neglect and ruin. The sacrament was administered in the most irreverent manner; *the service for the altar* [Qy. the cup and platter] *was borrowed from the nearest house, and the communicants took their seats at tables which the Catholics termed 'oyster-boards.'* The estates of the Church were alienated by the bishops. The highest dignitaries had availed themselves of the spoliation of the churches, and shared the plate and costly carvings with the nobility and gentry. Many parishes were left without a clergyman; in almost all, the service was neglected."—"Documents from Simancas," Introduction, pp. 17, 18. London: 1865.

† "To heighten all these discontents and dangers, there was also sprung up a generation of godless men; men that had so long given way to their own lusts and delusions, and so highly opposed the blessed motions of His Spirit, and the

was Richard Hooker, born of a respectable family near the City of Exeter, on Our Lady's Day 1554. When about twenty years of age, by the aid of an uncle who was Chamberlain of that city, he was admitted a clerk of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which in 1577 he became a Fellow, and subsequently Rector of Drayton Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire; but was in 1584 appointed Master of the Temple, a place of prominence and importance. Here he was brought into controversy with the two notorious Puritans, Travers and Cartwright, (of whom mention has already been made,) who were deliberately aiming to effect still further and still greater fundamental changes both in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.

Though Hooker had been brought up in the narrow school of Calvin, yet, when the New Religion became duly developed in its various and contradictory forms,—when, moreover, he saw to

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inward light of their own consciences, that they became the very slaves of vice, and had thereby sinned themselves into a belief of that which they would, but could not, believe: into a belief which is repugnant even to human nature (for the heathens believe that there are many gods), but *these had sinned themselves into a belief that there was no God.*"—"Life of Mr. Richard Hooker," by Isaac Walton, ed. Keble, p. 37. Oxford: 1845.

what lengths Travers and his adherents proposed to go,—what blank infidelity had ensued from such conflicts and controversies,—he himself stopped short; surveyed the actual situation with the power and grasp of a clear-sighted and vigorous mind, and gave to the Christian nations a treatise so deep, so exact, and so masterly, that his name remains as one of the greatest and deepest writers of his day. One of the Primates of Christendom highly commended his labours.* "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity" was commenced in the Temple about 1587, continued at Boscombe in the diocese of Sarum four years afterwards, and completed about 1594 at Bishopsbourne near Canterbury. The eminent writer, who was as modest and humble as he was thoughtful and learned, was of short stature, bent with literary labours and bodily mortifications, tried by home troubles, and in no way externally remarkable. But the services he rendered to the institution of which he was so great a light and defender, the masterly

* Pope Clement VIII. [Hippolytus Aldobrandini] said of Hooker, "There is no learning that this man hath not searcht into; nothing too hard for his understanding; this man indeed deserves the name of an author; his books will get reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that, if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning."—"Life of Hooker," Keble's Ed. of his "Works," p. 71. Oxford: 1845.

method by which he led his readers back from the New to the Old, will only be adequately realized when the miserable Disunion of the sixteenth century, which he so deplored, is atoned for by the Corporate Reunion of a later age.

He laid the foundation of a theological party in the National Church, whose principles were rather akin to those of Christian divines before the so-called "Reformation," than to those of Barlow, Cranmer, Sandys, Parkhurst, and Bale. From Hooker's day to the present, his principles have been always more or less acknowledged as good and true; so that a considerable section of English Churchmen has been benefited and blessed through his labours.

Nevertheless, as regards the crucial question of ordination,—a question of life or death to the professing Catholic, though one of little or no moment to the newly-bred sectarian or Donatistic Nationalist,* — Hooker's trumpet gave a

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* In quoting the following account of Hooker's position, the author must regretfully but frankly confess his inability to reconcile such distressing facts as many of those which are recorded in these volumes, with the late respected Mr. Keble's confident assertions regarding the then state of affairs. That thoughtful and eminent Tractarian in 1845 thus wrote:— "Now, since the episcopal succession had been so carefully retained in the Church of England, and so much anxiety evinced to render both her Liturgy and Ordination services

most uncertain and unsatisfactory sound. As regards current events, he saw around him

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strictly conformable to the rules and doctrines of antiquity, it might have been expected that the defenders of the English hierarchy against the first Puritans should take the highest ground, and challenge for the bishops the same unreserved submission, on the same plea of exclusive apostolical prerogative, which their adversaries feared not to insist on for their elders and deacons. It is notorious, however, that such was not in general the line preferred by Jewell, Whitgift, Bishop Cooper, and others, to whom the management of that controversy was intrusted during the early part of Elizabeth's reign. They do not expressly disavow, but they carefully shun, that unreserved appeal to Christian antiquity, in which one would have thought they must have discerned the very strength of their cause to lie. It is enough with them to show that the government by archbishops and bishops is ancient and allowable; they never venture to urge its *exclusive* claim, or to connect the succession with the validity of the holy Sacraments; and yet it is obvious that such a course of argument alone (supposing it borne out by facts) could fully meet all the exigencies of the case. It must have occurred to the learned writers above mentioned, since it was the received doctrine of the Church down to their days; and if they had disapproved it, as some theologians of no small renown have since done, it seems unlikely that they should have passed it over without some express avowal of dissent; considering that that always wrote with an eye to the pretensions of Rome also, which popular opinion had in a great degree mixed up with this doctrine of apostolical succession. One obvious reason, and probably the chief one, of their silence, was the relation in which they stood to the foreign Protestant congregations. The question had been mixed up with considerations of personal friendship, first by Cranmer's connection with the Lutherans, and after King Edward's death, by the residence of Jewell, Grindal, and others at Zurich, Strasburgh, and elsewhere, in congregations which had given

bishops who one and all did not believe that episcopal ordination was essential, and who possibly had never themselves received it; deans and prebendaries, like Whittingham and Kinge, Alwood and De Saravia, who had received only so-called "ordination" at the hands of presbyters; and numerous churches, as existing evidence proves, served by ministers not ordained at all.* In making his able defence of true principles, therefore, he was bound to consider such grave facts, which he, a mere country pastor, had neither power nor opportunity to alter. Nothing that he

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up the apostolical succession. Thus feelings arose, which came, insensibly, no doubt, but really and strongly, in aid of the prevailing notion that everything was to be sacrificed to the paramount object of union among Protestants."—Rev. J. Keble's Preface to "Works of Richard Hooker," pp. lix. lx. Oxford: 1845.

* "Nearly up to the time when he [Richard Hooker] wrote, *numbers had been admitted to the ministry of the Church of England, with no better than Presbyterian ordination*, and it appears by Travers's 'Supplication to the Council,' that such was the construction put upon the statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, permitting those who had received orders in any other form than that of the English service-book, on giving certain securities, to exercise their calling in England. If it were really the intention of [the framers and makers of] that act to authorize other than episcopal ordination, it is but one proof more of the low accommodating notions concerning the Church which then prevailed; and may serve to heighten our sense of the imminent risk which we were in of losing the succession."—p. lxxvi. of the Preface by the Rev. John Keble to his edition of Hooker's "Works."

could think, write, or say, could undo the mischief already deliberately done. Hooker, consequently, adapted himself to circumstances, there was obviously no other alternative; and though, if his admitted principles were faithfully applied, the fact that episcopal ordination was essential might be reasonably deduced from their acceptance, he not only nowhere so applied them, but actually regarded Dr. Adrian De Saravia* — ordained abroad by presbyters, if at all—as one perfectly capable of receiving his death-bed confession, of giving him absolution, and of administering the Lord's Supper. Here is the record:—

"About one day before his death, Dr. Saravia, who knew the very secrets of his soul (for they were supposed to be confessors to each other), came to him, and after a conference of the benefit, the necessity, and safety of the Church's absolution, it was resolved the Doctor should give him both that and the Sacrament the day following. To which end the Doctor came, and after a

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* Adrian de Saravia came from Ghent. His father was a Spaniard; his mother from Artois. As is generally allowed, he was never ordained, though he wrote in defence of episcopacy, held a controversy with Beza, and was made a Prebendary of Canterbury. He wrote three remarkable tracts: (1.) "De diversis ministrorum evangelii gradibus"; (2.) "De Honore præsulibus et presbyteris debito"; and (3.) "De sacrilegis et sacrilegorum pœnis."

short retirement and privacy, they two returned to the company, and then the Doctor gave him, and some of those friends, which were with him, the Blessed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Jesus. Which being performed, the Doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety in his face." *

Subsequently, the "Reformed" National Church—which, however, had happily retained a belief in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and in two of the Sacraments—began to throw off the heresies and errors of its first founders, and in due course abandoned some of them. For the influence of Hooker has never been lost. The rise of the Caroline school of theologians, often thoroughly Christian, if not quite Catholic; the improvement deliberately made in the Ordinal in 1662, together with the expulsion of the fanatical and unordained; the beneficial influence of Archbishop Sancroft and the later Non-jurors; and, more especially, the great work of reparation and restoration effected because of the Oxford movement of 1833, are all tokens that the Almighty has not forsaken us, but has yet some important work for the Church of England to do, —whether in a day of sunshine and grace, or after

* "Life of Mr. Richard Hooker," p. 85. Keble's edition of his Works. Oxford: 1845.

a period of storm and losses, none can know,—when the time for effecting Corporate Reunion, on the solid basis of Authority and Truth, shall in His merciful providence have at length arrived.

Correspondence concerning the proposed Private Assassination of Mary, Queen of Scots.

From the "Letter-Books of Sir Amias Poulet," Keeper of the Queen.

"To Sir Amias Poulet.*

"'After our hearty commendations, we find by speech lately uttered by Her Majesty that she doth note in you a lack of that care and zeal of her service that she looketh for at your hands, in that you have not in all this time of yourselves (without other provocation) found out some way to shorten the life of that Queen, considering the great peril she is subject unto hourly, so long as

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* Hearne's MS. Diary, vol. lxxxv. p. 89. From Gwyn's transcript.

the said Queen shall live. Wherein, besides a kind of lack of love towards her, she noteth greatly that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion and the public good and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth, especially having so good a warrant and ground for the satisfaction of your consciences towards God and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of association which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed, and especially the matter wherewith she standeth charged being so clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore she taketh it most unkindly towards her, that men professing that love towards her that you do, should in any kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duties, cast the burthen upon her, knowing as you do her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood as the said Queen is. These respects we find do greatly trouble Her Majesty, who, we assure you, has sundry times protested that if the regard of the danger of her good subjects and faithful servants did not more move her than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the shedding of her blood. We thought it very meet to acquaint (you) with these speeches lately passed from Her Majesty, referring the same to

your good judgments. And so we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

"'At London, February 1, 1586.

"'Your most assured friends,

"'Francis Walsingham,

"'Wm. Davison.'

"This letter was received at Fotheringay the 2nd of February, at five in the afternoon."

"An abstract of a letter from Mr. Secretary Davison, of the said 1st of February 1586, as followeth :—

"'I pray let this and the inclosed be committed to the fire, which measure shall be likewise mete to your answer, after it hath been communicated to Her Majesty for her satisfaction.'"

"A postscript in a letter from Mr. Secretary Davison, of the 3rd of February 1586 :—

"'I entreated you in my last to burn my letters sent unto you for the argument' sake, which by your answer to Mr. Secretary (which I have seen) appeareth not to have been done. I pray you, let me entreat you to make heretics of the one and the other, as I mean to use yours, after Her Majesty hath seen it.'"

"In the end of the postscript—

"'I pray you let me hear what you have done

with my letters, because they are not fit to be kept, that I may satisfy Her Majesty therein, who might otherwise take offence thereat, and if you entreat this postscript in the same manner, you shall not err a whit.' "

" A Poulet—D. Drury.

" A copy of a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, of the 2nd of February 1586, at six in the afternoon, being the answer to a letter from him, the said Sir Francis, of the 1st of February 1586, received at Fotheringay the 2nd day of February, at five in the afternoon :—

" ' Your letters of yesterday coming to my hands this present day at five in the afternoon, I would not fail according to your directions to return my answers with all possible speed, which (*sic*) shall deliver unto you with great grief and bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy to have liven to see this unhappy day in the which I am required by direction from my most gracious Sovereign to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My good livings and life are at Her Majesty's disposition, and am ready to so lose them this next morrow if it shall so please her, acknowledging that I hold them as of her mere and most gracious favour, and do not desire them

to enjoy them, but with Her Highness's good liking. But God forbid that I should make so foul a shipwreck of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my poor posterity, to shed blood without law or warrant. Trusting that Her Majesty, of her accustomed clemency, will take this my dutiful answer in good part (and the rather by your good mediation), as proceeding from one who will never be inferior to any Christian subject living in duty, honour, love, and obedience towards his Sovereign. And thus I commit you to the mercy of the Almighty.

"'From Fotheringay, the 2nd of February 1586.

"'Your most assured poor friends,

"'A. POULET,

"'D. DRURY.

"'Your letters coming in the plural number seem to be meant as to Sir Drue Drury as to myself, and yet because he is not named in them, neither the letter directed unto him, he forbeareth to make any particular answer, but subscribeth in heart to my opinion.'"

"I copied these letters in December 1717 from a MS. folio book of letters to and from Sir Amias Poulet, when the Queen of Scots' Governor at Fotheringay. This book is in the hands of John,

Earl Poulett, his immediate descendant, and in that book is likewise contained a particular account of the trial of the Queen of Scots, which seems to be done by Sir Amias himself." *

[Poulet was too cautious to destroy the disgraceful letters he had been dishonoured by receiving from the Secretaries of his Sovereign. He carried the originals with him to London, and there doubtless they were "made heretics of," as Davison had urged. But mindful of his own reputation, he left copies with his family, that, if necessary, it might be known in what terms he had repelled the base proposal.]

"Poulet to Davison.

"'Sir,—The rule of charity commandeth to bear with the impatience of the afflicted, which Christian lesson you have learned, as I find by experience to my great contentment, in that you have been content to bear with my malapertness, wherein you bind me more and more to love you and to honour you, which I will do with all human faithfulness.

"'If I should say that I have burned the papers you wot of, I cannot tell if everybody

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* With this note by Mr. Gwyn, Hearne's copy ends.

would believe me; and therefore I reserve them to be delivered to your hands at my coming to London. God bless you and prosper all your actions to His glory.

"'From Fotheringay, the 8th of February 1586.

"'Your most assuredly to my small power,

"'A. POULET.'"

"The Letter-Books of Sir Amias Poulet, Keeper of Mary, Queen of Scots." Edited by Rev. John Morris. London: 1874.—A volume which, I may be permitted to add, is full of historical interest and importance.

CHAPTER IV.

THROUGHOUT all these stirring times,—times of excitement, confusion and change,—the peculiar disorder which everywhere existed in the National Church can scarcely now be realized. Unless records actually remained in black and white, of the exact state of the then existing degradation, which plainly set it forth in detail, few would be found to credit its existence. Writers interested in making out a case, by suppressing facts, passing over damaging records, and by artful special pleading, have for a long time succeeded in obscuring the truth. The bishops of that day are constantly complaining to the Council of their miseries, and are found metaphorically wringing their hands in despair of ever being able to bring order out of such disorder. Obedience, they assert, does not

exist. Every one persists in doing exactly what he likes, and moral suasion is of little or no avail.

Dr. Bickley, Bishop of Chichester, believes that the times are sad because "so many preaching ministers will abide no correction." * He himself had been openly set at defiance, to his great humiliation, by some "proper insolent" preachers who, going from place to place, would not minister any sacrament "but only stir up the ignorant and mean with vain and vicious words," despising his lordship, his office and authority, and "the powers that be." They were "verie sore skornfull" when the Queen was referred to as owning any spiritual authority.

Dr. Chaderton of Litchfield was very downhearted at the state of affairs, as he piteously wrote to the Lord Treasurer in the following terms:—

"Certes, my honorable Lord, I am here in a very perilous country; and, if I may speak it without offence, the very sink of the whole realm, both for corrupt religion and life." †

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* In 1583 it is on record that Thomas Underdowne preached in St. Michael's, Lewes, that anyone who had an inward persuasion and allowance that he was called by God might lawfully preach. "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. clix., Nos. 15, 16.

† Strype's "Annals," vol. iii., Part I., p. 35. Oxford: 1824.

Many of the persons ministering thereabouts were not even in deacon's orders, and others had declined to undergo any matrimonial inquisition of any sort or kind.* On one occasion at Litchfield, a "proper stout and comely wench" assaulted an "ancient justice," who had proposed to examine her according to law, by tearing his beard, and she threatened him with further punishment if he made any like attempt.

Complaints had been made, but without effect, for no remedy was forthcoming, that in one parish of this diocese, "the minister refused to wear the surplice, and that he would not keep the accustomed place of prayer, where service was wont to be said, but stood lower to the people, and turned not his face upward toward the east, but downward to the west, and used not the Order of Common Prayer." †

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* William Chaderton, Bishop of Litchfield, to the Lord Treasurer, A.D. 1582. — Strype's "Annals," vol. iii., Part I., p. 141. Oxford: 1824. "Whether was your parson made *deacon* before his admission to the said benefice? . . . . Whether hath your parson married in such sort, as he ought to do, having two justices of peace's hands for the allowing of such?"—"Articles of Enquiry, Diocese of Litchfield," A.D. 1582. Strype's "Annals," vol. iii., Part I., pp. 164, 165. Oxford: 1824. "A Replicacion to an Auncient Enemy," &c., p. 39. London: Serres.

† The Archdeacon of Canterbury bears similar testimony, thus:—"What shall I now speak of the notable decay of

By the year 1583 a wave of change had completely passed over the diocese of St. David's. Externally the Ancient Faith had been on all sides efficiently put down. As regards externals, the sign of the cross, chrism, holy water, lights at the altar and at the reading of the Gospel, special vestments for the clergy, had all been swept away.* Here and there a tattered cope, which no one cared to possess, was sometimes hung over the edge of the pulpit; otherwise all sacerdotal vestments were totally abolished. The nature of Dr. Middleton's Visitation Articles was thoroughly innovating. Though those favouring the Old

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prayer, fasting, and alms, and universally of all virtuous living, of the disobedience of children to their parents, of servants to their masters, of fraud, deceit, circumvention, more practised than ever before in all contracts and bargains, of rarity of trusty true friends, and of decay of obedience to public laws and magistrates, and finally of all good order and public discipline."—"The Pretended Divorce between Henry VIII. and Queen Katherine," by Nicholas Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, edited by N. Pocock, p. 298. London: 1878.

* As Dr. Harding, in his "Confutation," had so triumphantly asked of Jewell, "If ye show us not the use of chrism in your churches; if the sign of the cross be not borne before you in processions, and otherwheres used; if holy water be abolished; if lights at the Gospel and Communion be not had; if peculiar vestments for deacons, priests, bishops, be taken away, and many such other the like, judge ye whether ye have duly kept the old ceremonies of the Church?"

Religion were compelled to worship in secret, the bishop of that see was obliged to report that in his diocese "there is now little Popery, but the people are greatly infected with atheism and wonderfully given over to vicious life." * A certain official informs him that in no less than thirty-two churches there are neither services nor congregations. Some persons, he is distressed to find, "would welcome the idolatrous Mass anew, but are sore disdainful to the preachers." At Breachfa two ministers had held "a godlie disputation," lasting several hours; and their hearers, having split themselves into two camps towards eventide, concluded the "exercise" by an appeal to blows and cuffs. It seems to have been the pious wives of the two ministers† who first proposed an appeal to physical force, in which they and others of their sex heartily joined. The local constables, feeling themselves incompetent to settle the knotty

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* "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. clxii., No. 29, dated "Brecon, Sep. 16, 1583."

† On another occasion, as is on record, the zeal of the women was not hidden under a bushel. "Lo! and behold, two of the wives of ministers also challenged him to dispute upon points of religion. The female theologians, however, spent the labour of their preparation in vain; for the martyr remanded them to their spindles and needles, and especially recommended to them modesty and silence; for the more they observed these so much the wiser would they show themselves to be."—"Records of the English Province," vol. iii. p. 462. London: 1878.

points of the controversy with authority, left the opposing theologians and their respective adherents to fight out their battle. Darkness failed to settle the controversy, but it happily sufficed to close the militant disputation. For the "saints" left off squareing up to each other, mollified their respective bruises, and fought no longer. A few years later, in 1586, it was reported—and no one need have been astonished at the report—that "in Brecknock, the livings are nearly all impropriate, with no preachers but ignorant and unlearned ministers. Seldom or never is there evening prayer."*

One special difficulty of the bishops was that every ordinary minister now looked upon himself as an "overseer," a "preaching and presiding elder," or "a bishop,"† and denied altogether the value of the new "Parliament-approved ordering." Authority, many asserted, came from the people, not from above; from the flock, *i.e.* the "godly," not from "great Eliza, the maiden Shep-

* "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cxci., No. 17.

† A certain minister, Wright, who had received orders of Villers and other ministers at Antwerp, confesses that in his judgment "*every minister is a bishop.*" He further affirmed that the preachers who followed the Prayer Book were dumb dogs, and that the ministers were thieves and murderers

herdess." * One, John Daye of Norwich, in an epistle to the bishop, was both out-spoken and plain-spoken :—

"He said also that we urged orders so long as orders maintained superstition; but all other orders were no orders. He concluded by the first [chapter] of the Acts of the Apostles, that no man might appoint ministers, but the disciples in every parish. He would needs urge also that none might be suffered in the church but preachers." †

As to Bishop Middleton's assertion that atheism and immorality were on the increase, while parishes were destitute,‡ the existing evidence is conclusive on the point. Nothing, of course, could have been more conducive to the extension of such principles as the controversies by puffed-up Calvinists and self-elected teachers of irreligion.

In 1582, a minister of Stamford was accused of

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and, moreover, that there were no lawful ministers in England.—Strype's "Annals," vol. iii., Part I., p. 179. Oxford: 1824.

* Author's MSS. and Excerpts. Robert Beale, Clerk of the Council, to Sir Henry Lee.

† John Daye to the Bishop of Norwich. — Strype's "Annals," vol. iii., Part I., p. 26. Oxford: 1824.

‡ "There are whole thousands of us left untaught: yea, by trial it will be found that there are in England whole thousands of parishes destitute of this necessary help to salvation, that is, of diligent preaching and teaching."—Sampson's "Supplicatory to the Queen," Strype's "Annals," vol. iii., Part I., p. 327. Oxford: 1824.

"wickedness and heresy, two gross crimes, namely, for lying with another woman, his wife being alive, and for likewise affirming the lawfulness of having two wives"* at the same time,—a somewhat more progressive reform than had as yet been sanctioned by his superiors. If an old Carmelite or a Cistercian, he reasoned, could lead some "one wench" to the altar, why could not a Stamford preacher "lead two"?

In 1584, the cases at the Quarter Sessions in London give an awful account of the state of religion. A minister's wife was accused of systematically transgressing the law in an infamous manner; while Heaton, the parson of St. Andrew's Holborn, was also charged with most frightful crimes. This man's father, it is recorded, was in prison for incest.

On May 28th, 1582, Bishop Nicholas Robinson of Bangor had written to Sir Francis Walsingham† to justify himself against the reports that he had fallen away from true religion. In this letter he makes a free and full confession to the Secretary of State,—a delegate of the Supreme Governess,—and makes it in detail with much care

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* Strype's "Annals," vol. iii., Part 1, p. 169. Oxford: 1824.

† "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cliii. No. 56.

and precision. He unfolds the whole course of his life since he became a preacher,* both before and since he was Bishop of Bangor.

Notwithstanding what had been done in the work of "Reformation,"† as it termed, notwithstanding that the old churches, now stripped

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* It had been asserted in print that "the Superintendent of Bangor, one Robinson, is no priest nor minister, but only a preacher"—"Modest Cure, with a Cry from the Wilderness." London: 1556),—but he seems to have been certainly consecrated a bishop at Lambeth on the 20th of October in that year, by Dr. Matthew Parker, assisted by Bullingham and Ghest.

† Archdeacon Harpsfield of Canterbury thus wrote of the evil deeds of King Edward VI.: "He averted, extinguished, and abolished not only the rites and ceremonies of the Catholic Church, but divers articles of our Faith, and the chief Sacraments withal. *Then our churches were more like to Jews' synagogues* (the image and cross of Christ, with the image of His Blessed Mother and all His holy Saints, being defaced and broken, the altars overthrown, and the precious Body of Christ villanously profaned) than to Christian churches: the walls all be-painted, like the Jews' temples, with places of holy Scripture; and yet worse than the Jews' temples, for that the meaning of these authorities was to make the world believe that to pray to the Saints, to pray for the dead, to worship Christ's Body in the Blessed Sacrament, was nothing but plain superstition and idolatry. Then should you have seen in the place where Christ's precious Body was reposed over the altar, and instead of Christ His crucifix, the arms of a mortal king set up on high with a dog and a lion, which a man might well call the abomination of desolation standing in the temple, that Daniel speaketh of."—"The Pretended Divorce between Henry VIII. and Queen Katherine," by Nicholas Harpsfield, LL.D., edited by N. Pocock," pp. 281–282. London: 1878.

and desolate, looked more like Jewish synagogues than temples for the worship of God the Trinity, and for the celebration of Christian rites, numbers of the ministers and others, more especially the advanced Puritans, thought that much more ought to be swept away. It has been shown how great were their demands in the way of further change, and how indisposed those in authority had shown themselves to be as regards acceding to them. A little later some of the bishops began to see that Puritanism could only be opposed by reverting to rejected principles; and began to teach that bishops governed by divine right.* The Queen's personal love of pomp and display, when, as Supreme Governess, she herself was the object of it, is well known. In churches and cathedrals she was still regularly honoured by external rites and signs. She was received with genuflections, she walked under a canopy borne over her, occupied the chief seat of honour near the Communion-board, and was herself often the subject of praise and glory in the

* Sir Francis Knowlys tells Lord Burghley that he is of opinion that the superiority and authority of bishops is derived immediately and independently from Her Majesty. Mr. Martin and Dr. Whitgift the bishop have, in his judgment, incurred the penalty of *præmunire* by claiming a divine right for the bishops. "Domestic State Papers, Elizabeth, vol. cccxxxiii. 62.

anthems and hymns sung. In ordinary parish churches, instead of bowing to the altar on the cross, or to the crucifix on the rood-screen, many of the people now bent the knee either to actual representations of Her Majesty on canvas, or to her gorgeously-emblazoned coat of arms—everywhere then substituted for the representation of Our Blessed Saviour on the cross—the sole patch of strong and vulgar colouring amid the surrounding whitewash. In one Oxfordshire church,—that of Cuxham,—instead of the text "The Fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," some local scribe in a paroxysm of loyalty had written up in black letters, "The Fear of the Quene is the iniciacion of wisdome," *—possibly incited to do it by some witty but daring recusant, who lived near, or it may have been some unsanctified Erastian.

On the other hand, under the not inappropriate name of Jezebel, Her Majesty was satirized for being too conservative and lukewarm :—

For example, at St. Edmund's Bury, under the elaborate and magnificent armorial bearings of the Queen, the following text had been illuminated in red and black letters—"Because thou art luke-

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* "Notes upon Stadham, Easington, and Cuxham Churches," by John D'Oyley, p. 144. Oxford: 1773.

warm, and neither cold nor hot, it shall come to pass that I will spue thee out of my mouth"; and another for the special consideration of the Bishop of Norwich, viz. :—"I have a few things against thee that thou sufferest the woman Jezebel, which maketh herself a prophetess, to teach and to deceive my servants; to make them commit fornication, and to eat meat sacrificed unto idols." *

One minister, evidently a "vessel of charity," as he modestly termed himself, in preference to abusing or satirizing Her Majesty, had, with much personal superiority and great condescension, previously prayed for her thus :—"Lord, we humbly beseech Thee to strengthen the Queen's Highness with Thy Holy Spirit, that, in the twenty-third year of her reign, she may cast down all the high places of idolatry within her land, with the Popish Canon Law, and all superstition and commandments of men, and to pluck up all filthy ceremonies pertaining to the same." †

Judging by what has been here set forth,—the state of profanity, contradiction, and self-pleasing which existed—it might have been conceived that

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* Strype's "Annals," vol. iii., Part I., p. 176. Oxford: 1824.

† *Ibid.*, vol. iii., Part I., p. 66.

the Queen and her ministers had already done this tolerably* if not perfectly well. The further "Reformation" which these fanatical people desired was only duly and completely accomplished in a later age, by the fury, fire, and sword of Oliver Cromwell; for whose advent, however, they were then so efficiently paving the way. The murder of the King, the further pollution of the dismal and altarless churches and the miseries of Civil war later on, were the natural and reasonable sequences of an overthrow of all Christian Authority, the casting away of five out of the seven sacraments of the New Law, and the atrocious cruelties to Catholics under Elizabeth. As in the sixteenth century our nation sowed, so, in due course, it deservedly reaped. A portion of the harvest even now remains to be gathered in.

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* From Heylin's "Affairs of Church and State in England under Queen Elizabeth," pp. 174–175, Ed. London, 1661, it is stated that "every man is left unto his private rule or canon, whether he will take the Bread into his hands, or let it stand at the end of the table, the Bread and Wine being laid upon the table, where it pleases the parish clerk or sexton to put them": that the new church "is constrained to suffer cobblers, weavers, tinkers, tanners, cardmakers, tapsters, fiddlers, gaolers, and others of like profession not only to enter into disputing with her, but also to climb up into pulpits, and to keep the place of priests and ministers": that "the residue of the Sacrament [in loaf bread] unreceived was taken of the priest or of the parish clerk, to spread their young children's butter thereupon, or to serve their own tooth with it at their homely table."

Some persons—such always exist, the pitiful skulks of society, or artful Gallios of the day—avoided taking sides. They were content to follow those whom they judged to be their betters, and to hold their tongues. Certain persons highly approved of the new liberty which had been secured, and liked it still better when, as in so many cases, it degenerated into the wildest license. They punctually went through mere external legal formalities, such as attending church, listening to sermons, or participating in "the Supper," as a matter of course; quieting their dulled consciences with the hope that if public affairs were so much out of joint, these might soon become not so disturbed and less anomalous. Others, like Cecil of old, whom they followed humbly and at a distance, allowed their predilections in religion to become entirely subservient to their temporal advancement. Instead of renouncing the World, they worshipped it with devotion. They were always careful not to express any strong convictions on ecclesiastical questions; and perhaps doggedly carried out the expressive maxim, that "if eloquence be silvern, silence is golden," with an approach to perfection. Or, with some art and forethought, they took both sides* at different times, and in

* See "Jack-of-Both-Sides, a godly and a necessary Catholic Admonition touching those that be Neutres, holding

accordance with the respective company in which they might find themselves ;—a position of some difficulty, conducive neither to honesty nor honour.

In the meantime the hangman was not allowed to slumber long, nor the gibbet to stand unused, nor the Queen's goose-quill for signing death-warrants to remain for any time undipped in ink. The man-butcher likewise was frequently called upon to sharpen his blade and turn up the cuffs of his blue and blood-stained smock.

Constant rumours were artfully put about that various people were continually on the look-out to poison or get rid of the Queen. This, however,—save in one or two questionable instances,—is more than doubtful; for the gift of lying was so common, and the art of forgery and fabrication were so frequently resorted to by the bevy of hired spies and bribed ruffians in the pay of the Court,* that small reliance can be placed even on

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upon a Certain Religion, and such as those that hold with both parties, or rather no parties." Richard Harrison : 1562.

* " The Secretary Walsingham had for years had a little army of spies in his pay—wretches of blasted character and broken fortunes, fellows who were adepts at inventing plots or worming-out secrets, their trade eavesdropping, their daily bread gained by scenting out 'murders, stratagems, and crimes'; where true intelligence was not to be gained, *false rumours and slanders of the blackest hue* served their turn as well. Sometimes they were dogging the steps of decrepit old 'Queen Mary's priests'; sometimes *they were busy forging*

the documentary evidence they produced in such cases. Their sworn words were often but as idle tales, their secret letters forgeries. Many of these rumours were deliberately and of malice invented, in order to justify further cruelty or as a plea for more confiscations and robberies. From the proceeds of such confiscations, the forgers and falsehood-mongers were richly rewarded. At all events, if there were so many persons anxious to get rid of so cruel and heartless a woman (and no one can wonder at it, if such were the case; though the poisoner or assassin be contemptible), they appear to have been altogether unable to effect their purpose. And well is it, perhaps, that such was their failure, for the pangs of a sin-sick soul and

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letters from people in high station; but always sleepless, suspicious, unscrupulous—men of infinite resources in the base expedients of the informer's trade."—"One Generation of a Norfolk House," by Augustus Jessopp, D.D., p. 248. London: 1879. On one occasion Lord Burghley sent twenty pounds as a present to one Stephen Powle, of Maiden Lane, a notorious spy, who had professed to have discovered a plot on the part of persons employed by the Pope to take away the Queen's life by poisoned perfumes—a lying invention, which might probably be turned to some account. Later on he was sent to the Court of some German Protestant prince, to keep both his eyes open and ever to prick up his ears; and in 1589 having, as he admitted, "received much comfort" from Lord Burghley's "fatherly speeches," and a promise of some office, never fulfilled, went off to one of the Swiss Cantons "to spend the remainder of his wretched days."—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. ccxxii. 77, 92, A.D. 1589, and vol. ccxxiii. 1.

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tortured conscience throughout weary years were far keener than the internal pains of poison or the sharpness of polished steel. For such sins against God Almighty, Truth and Justice, as the Queen had committed during her long reign, she righteously deserved to suffer. What mental sufferings she endured in her later miserable years and latest hours, none can either know or tell.

In the autumn of 1588, no less than nine priests and ten laymen were executed, either for denying the Queen's spiritual supremacy, or under one of the recent Acts against the Old Religion already alluded to. The same sanguinary cruelties so shocking to contemplate and so revolting to describe, were undergone by all.* And this, so soon

* I borrow the following from a learned and independent writer:—"Scarcely a year passed by without these dreadful massacres, the details of which are more revolting and shameful than those who have not given their attention to the subject, or read the accounts written down at the time, could be readily brought to believe. For ten years the butchery had been kept up remorselessly. The victims, as a rule, were not hung by the neck till they were dead, but cut down while they were alive and conscious, then thrown upon their backs, the executioner's knife was plunged into their bowels, and the entrails and heart tossed into a cauldron of water which stood hard by. In more than one instance the victim in his agony and despair struggled with the hangman, but it was only for a moment. In some cases the crowd shouted out to the sheriff to 'let him hang.' Sometimes a condemned man begged as a special grace that he 'might not be bowelled ere he was dead.' The rabble looked on terror-struck; but such scenes could not but brutalise them. The appetite for blood is a strange passion, and once yielded

after those who supported the Old Religion had shown their loyalty when the Armada was expected.

On the other side, persecution went on apace.* A certain ignorant Protestant, of low birth, William Hackett, created a considerable stir in the spring of the year 1591 by his extreme developments. He had long been "an acceptable preacher" to many, and had acted in alliance with two eloquent but fanatical Puritans in the rank of gentlepeople, named Coppinger and Arthington, who together wandered about the country, delivering very excitable and stirring addresses. Hackett, who had previously maintained that the spirit of St. John the Baptist was guiding him, now styled himself "the Messiah," Coppinger assumed the office of "Prophet of Mercy," as he termed himself, Arthington that of "Prophet of Judgment." Their varied assertions and incoherent ravings were even more violent than the language of the official and authoritative "Homilies." They boldly proposed to overturn the new religious system of the Queen once for all; and in the

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to is prone to exercise a horrible fascination on some minds." —"One Generation of a Norfolk House," by A. Jessopp, D.D., Second Edition, p. 228. London: 1879.

* "Jan. ultimo, six fond persons, Colman, Bolton, Evans, Hallegam, Benson, and Gates, mislyking of the service of the Church, committed to the Flete."—"Burghley State Papers," W. Murdin, p. 764. London: 1759.

strongest and strangest language dealt out condemnation to all Her Majesty's bishops. Crowds followed them, and hung upon their words. On one occasion at Charing Cross, the excitement they caused threatened to produce a serious riot. At Lincoln a cruel and ignominious flogging at the cart's tail, had only deepened Hackett's reforming zeal. Of Queen Elizabeth's loose morals, these Protestant prophets spoke with the greatest plainness; while, on one occasion, Hackett, who followed Knox in his dislike of a woman having been made the Governess of a Church, deliberately defaced with a steel bodkin a portrait of Her Majesty and Her Royal Arms. Upon this he was at once arrested, charged with treason, tried, and hung in Cheapside.* Coppinger, poor wretch! was imprisoned, and there starved to death. Arthington recanted his errors and obtained a pardon.

Soon afterwards fresh enactments were passed against these Puritans.† In the thirty-fifth year

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* "1591, July 28th, one Hackett, a fanaticall sectary, hanged in Cheapsyde."—"Burghley State Papers," p. 797. London: 1759.

† "They appealed to the public with all the bitterness of disappointed zeal; and the friends of the Establishment were surprised and alarmed by a succession of hostile and popular pamphlets. The titles of these writings were quaint, their language declamatory and scurrilous, their object being

of the Queen's reign,—though axe and halter, torture-men,* and human butchers had been so constantly in requisition for Catholics, more work of the same kind must be done, and further legal powers secured. Grim and gaunt hanging-posts were too few and far between. Representations of religious facts by way-side slope and on village-green,—of the Incarnation, by figures of Our Lady and her Divine Child; of the Passion and Death of Our Blessed Saviour, by the Crucifix,—had long ago been smashed, mutilated, or burnt. In their place, as tokens of the increased happiness and contentment of the people, let more

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to bring the hierarchy into discredit and contempt. But the Queen threw over the clergy the shield of her protection. She issued a severe proclamation against the authors, publishers, and possessors of seditious libels, and the Court of the Star Chamber restrained the exercise of the art of printing to the metropolis and the two universities, to a single press in each of these, and to a certain number in London, with a prohibit to print, sell, bind, or stitch any work which had not previously obtained the approbation of the bishop or archbishop. Yet in defiance of these regulations, copies of the more obnoxious publications were multiplied and circulated through every part of the kingdom. They issued from an ambulatory press, which was secretly conveyed from house to house, and from county to county."—"History of England," by John Lingard, D.D., vol. vi. p. 260. Dublin: Duffy and Sons, 1874.

* Topcliffe and Young were authorized to use "such torture as is usual for the better understanding of the truth."—"Domestic State Papers, Elizabeth," vol. ccxxx. 57.

gibbets be erected, and new ropes woven. An Act was, therefore, passed to "restrain the Queen's subjects in obedience," as it was termed. She who herself was disobedient to the Patriarch of Christendom, found in turn that others were disobedient to her. Her only method by which to influence the reason, conscience, and will of those under her, was an Act of Parliament, with the glorious gibbet and efficient strangling-rope set forth in its latest clause. All persons, therefore, who dared to dispute the Queen's ecclesiastical and spiritual authority; all who abstained from going to church; all who attended "any assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion," were to be put into prison and kept there until they conformed. If in the course of three months they could not, or would not, make up their minds to do this, they were at once to abjure the realm. If, furthermore, they refused to depart, or dared to return and show their faces after their abjuration, they were to be at once "strung up." * All these enactments were for the Puritans.

More suffering, however, was also in store and legalized for those of the Old Faith. Another Act† was at the same time passed against

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* Act 35 Eliz. c. i. † *Ibid.* c ii.

"Popish recusants." Such were to repair to their own homes and not to travel five miles therefrom. If they did not possess sufficient goods to satisfy the monthly fine of twenty pounds for non-attendance at their parish church, they, too, were to abjure the realm; and if they refused or hesitated to do this, they were to suffer as felons. A previous statute had compelled those abroad to return home, or else to endure the loss of their goods.*

The only method of avoiding these fines, penalties, and punishments,† was to make a formal

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* "Grant to Dr. Gyfford, one of Her Majesty's physicians, of the goods of Germane Poole, *forfeited by reason of his continuance beyond the seas contrary to statute.*"—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. ccxxxiv. 70.

From the Council the following orders were despatched to the authorities at York:—"To have a vigilant eye and regard to such as be harbourers and maintainers of any priests, schoolmasters, or other persons, not yet confirmed or reformed; or such as have been of late beyond the seas and are returned, and be no favorers of the godly and Christian religion now established and professed; and that you do certify their names, qualities, and dwelling-places, or to whose houses and places they do resort or have access."—"Articles sent to the Justices of the Peace within the City of York," 18° Junii, 20° Eliz.

† That these were sternly inflicted is clear from the following:—"On Friday last Sir Richard Knightley, Hooles of Coventry, Wigsome and his wife, of Warwick, were condemned in the Star Chamber, as furtherers of the book called 'Martin Mar-prelate,' to pay, the first two thousand pounds, the second one thousand marks, the third five hundred, the

confession, in which each person, whether Catholic or Protestant, was to acknowledge (the appointed words are substantially given) that he had grievously offended God in contemning Her Majesty's godly and lawful government and spiritual authority by absenting himself from church, and from hearing divine service and sermons, contrary to the godly laws and statutes of this realm; that he acknowledged and *testified in his conscience* that neither the Bishop of Rome nor any other person hath or ought to have any power or authority over Her Majesty or within any of Her Majesty's realms and dominions. In the Protestant form of recantation, the sentence concerning the Bishop of Rome was omitted.

Before some of the effects of these new enactments are given in detail, a brief reference must be made to the case of one, distinguished above all the rest of the sufferers for his noble birth and high rank. The treatment of Philip, seventeenth Earl of Arundel,—godson of King Philip of Spain,—was simply unqueenly and inhuman. Early in his career he had declined to carry the Sword of State before the Queen to chapel, which offended Her Majesty deeply. Soon afterwards, with un-

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fourth one hundred, and to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure."—Letter of Sir H. Lee to Lord Shrewsbury, dated Feb. 17, 1590.

regal meanness, she sent Lord Hunsdon and Walsingham to "draw him out" as regards religion, artfully concealing herself with Lord Leicester in order to overhear the conversation. For this, in which he laughed at the she-supremacy existing, he in due course suffered persecution. He had long been condemned to pay a heavy fine as a recusant, and had been imprisoned for some years,* later with some relaxation. When the Armada was expected, however, he was watched carefully. Two fellow-prisoners, Esquire William Shelley and Sir Thomas Gerard, examined separately, were terrified into asserting that Lord Arundel had on a certain occasion induced an old priest to say Mass for the success of the Spanish invasion; but this assertion had only been secured by a threat of torture and death, and the witnesses who had made it refused to face the Earl when put upon his trial before his peers. Burghley on this occasion cross-examined Lord Arundel with art and skill; but it is clear, from a consideration of the evidence, that the latter had simply lifted up his prayers to Heaven for himself and his companions—all threatened with assassination,—and

* See "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. ccxxv. 41, ccxxxi. 48. In a letter to Lord Burghley from the Tower, Lord Arundel declares that he "is full of all misery and void almost of any comfort." 30th of March, 1590.

that the charges were certainly not proven. At this trial, with remarkable dignity and power, he recounted the fatal ends of his ancestors. His great-grandfather had been condemned without being heard, his grandfather had been beheaded for light and trivial matters, and his father—having been circumvented by his enemies—never bare any hostile mind against either queen or country. After an hour's debate, however, the peers found Arundel guilty, and sentence of death was pronounced. His condemnation was an act of policy, and an outrage both on Justice and Truth. It should be noted that the charge on which alone he was unanimously convicted was that of having been reconciled to the Faith of his forefathers. In this alone his offence consisted. No charge of treason was proved.

He made a request of the Queen by letter to be allowed to see his wife, and the little boy, then five years old, who had been born during his captivity, and whom he had consequently never even seen. But to this letter no answer was returned.

He was thus persecuted, as his father, the eighteenth earl of that name, had been before him, firstly because he was feared. For many of the Old Religion turned towards his family, hoping that some member of it might head a party against the detestable and cruel policy of those who for

so long a time had secured the upper hand. He was also persecuted because he had evidently declined to be the means of satisfying the unbridled lusts of the Queen, who greatly admired his handsome person. Her repulsive advances and nasty proposals were disgusting and revolting to a Christian nobleman of honour. "He seems to have given some deep but secret offence, which, though it was never divulged, could never be forgotten," is the quiet but forcible remark of a great historian. The Queen, therefore, did not order his execution; for Sir Christopher Hatton* had strongly urged her not to do so. But she never let the poor prisoner know of her resolve, and, with a delicate refinement of cruelty, kept the axe, as it were, suspended over his head for nearly seven weary years. He daily looked for the reading of the death-warrant, and the end of his time of probation. She had already taken the life of his noble father by a legal murder. She,

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* "There cannot be a doubt that he [Sir Christopher Hatton] was a party with his colleagues Burghley, Leicester, and Walsingham, to many questionable and unjustifiable proceedings, yet to his honour it must be recorded that we find him at times employing his authority to shield the poor and friendless from oppression, and to mitigate the severity of the law in favour of recusants under prosecution for their religion before the Ecclesiastical Commission."—"History of England," by J. Lingard, D.D., vol. vi. p. 242. Dublin: 1874.

of course, had the power to repeat the sin in his case. He lay, therefore, absolutely and abjectly at her mercy, very ill-treated by the Lieutenant of the Tower.* Of this he feelingly complained in a letter to that functionary, which still exists,—a touching appeal from one who was sorely cast down. At length, in the year 1595, he was artfully poisoned. After eating some teal, he became frightfully contorted in face, and was in an agony of pain. His physician,† Dr. Martin, endeavoured to afford relief; but after great suffering, he died within two months, in the eleventh year of his imprisonment. His name, as drawn by himself, may still be traced over the fire-place in the Beauchamp Tower. He was a most devout and saintly nobleman, enduring his severities with patience; worthy of his religion, lineage, and rank;

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* The Earl, shortly before his death, thus addressed the Lieutenant of the Tower:—"You must think that when a prisoner comes hither, that he bringeth enough sorrow with him. Do not, therefore, add affliction to affliction. There is no man, whosoever he may be, who thinkest that he standeth surely, but may very soon fall. It is inhuman to tread on one whom Misfortune hath cast down. God hath that man who is void of mercy in great detestation. Your commission is only to keep with safety, not to kill by severity."—"Life of Philip Howard" *in loco.*

† "Dr. Marten, Lord Arundel's doctor, has escaped to Dunkirk."—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. ccxxxiv. 48.

and so merited the repose and bliss of a better world.

The Chaplain of the Tower was present at the Earl's funeral, whose elm coffin was certainly cheap and inexpensive. But the service read was not that of the Prayer Book, but one of the Chaplain's own composing. It began with an exhortation. Exhortations in those days were invariably both popular and lengthy, affording scope for uncharitable rhetoric on the part of the author; and the Chaplain's was no exception to the rule. As God had lain this peer's honour in the dust, as was asserted; so, as the Scriptures had recorded that it was right to bury even Jezebel, it could not be wrong to inter the Earl. For his lordship's death, God was praised in the words of the Song of Deborah, and thanked because in His mercy He had taken the Earl out of the world. Self-righteousness, scurrility of language, and bad taste, as we see, made up for the loss of the Christian graces of faith and charity.

The Queen with all her heart hated the Countess,* who became a constant victim of Her Majesty's venomous rancour. Throughout the last part of the Earl's imprisonment, when he daily expected death, he was never once allowed

* This lady, Anne, an admirable woman and no mean poetess, was the sister and co-heiress of Thomas, Lord Dacre

to see his wife, his children, or any of his relations. After his death, the pitiful spite of this wrinkled and feeble specimen of a Tudor woman who ruled, was as keen as ever. The Countess was confined to her residence, never even allowed to go to London for her physician's advice without first securing a formal warrant; and, whenever the Queen came to London, the Countess was first ordered to quit it. Could tyranny any further go? Could royal malice be more intensified? Could feminine spite be more malignant or despicable?

The case of Esquire Edward Sulyard of Weatherdon, in Suffolk, is also specially noteworthy. He was a Roman Catholic, and wholly unable to pay the heavy fines of twenty pounds every lunar month which had been imposed. This was certified to the authorities, as also his readiness to offer forty pounds a year instead—all that his estate could afford. It seems uncertain whether his offer was accepted. Anyhow Sir Francis Walsingham forbade his being further molested. Out of one thousand three hundred and eighty

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of Gillisland. She survived her unfortunate husband until the year 1630. Her son Thomas, the twentieth Earl of Arundel, was one of the most distinguished noblemen that England ever owned. His collection of antiquities is possibly unique.

pounds then, by accumulation, due, the poor gentleman had paid no less than five hundred and forty pounds, leaving eight hundred and forty pounds unpaid. For the payment of these arrears within three years, he was, however, required to obtain two sureties, whom he found in his cousin Esquire Edward Sulyard of Fenning, and in his friend and ally Esquire Thomas Tyrrell. On the approach of the Armada, notwithstanding that he had publicly signed a declaration that Elizabeth was his lawful Sovereign, and that he would defend her against all foreign foes, he was at once imprisoned. Soon afterwards he obtained leave to visit his wrecked and impoverished estate for a short time; on condition that he was afterwards confined, at his own cost, in a private house. He was further bound in a bond of two thousand pounds not to depart from it. In 1591 he obtained some liberty. Under the same penalty he pledged himself, firstly, not to go beyond six miles from his place of confinement; and, secondly, to present himself before the Council at ten days' notice, whenever he should receive it. From that period to the death of the Queen, twelve years afterwards, he was in a constant state of imprisonment, sometimes in the Castle of Ely and sometimes in his own house; during which time he was often compelled to "lend" money—as it was termed—to the Queen, which,

of course, was never repaid; and often to equip a trooper at his own sole cost, for the Queen's Majesty's service.*

The Towneleys of Lancashire, some of the Hampdens in Bucks,† the Bellamys of Harrow-on-the-Hill, the Lords Paget of West Drayton, and others were sorely harried and punished. Guiltless of any offence but that of declining to attend a worship contrary to their conscience, they were constantly fined and imprisoned, and their property stolen. Of one of the Towneley family there is a picture still remaining in their ancient

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* Even a poor lady of Buckinghamshire, Mistress Avicia Lee, a "recusant," was ordered through Robert Dormer, Sheriff of the county, to furnish a light horseman for the Queen's service at her own sole cost; having already for several years paid twenty pounds a month as a fine for not giving up her religion; and so had been brought almost to ruin. The delivery of this order was notified to the Council from Marlow, in 1585. Within a few months she outwardly conformed and went to her parish church, of which a testimonial of conformity from the minister was then transmitted to London from Great Missenden, dated March 19, 1586. But, like many others, though an occasional conformist, she secretly practised the old religion, and died in the faith and fear of God.—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. clxxxiii. 32, vol. clxxxviii. 32; Author's MSS. and Excerpts; Buckinghamshire Wills.

† An inventory was taken of the books and other Popish relics found in the house of Mistress Hampden, of Stoke, in the county of Buckingham, and carried away from thence by Mr. Paul Wentworth.—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. clxviii., No. 47, Jan. 26, 1584.

and interesting mansion at Towneley,—a certain John of that honoured name,—under which the following record of his long and patient sufferings may still be read:—

"THIS JOHN, ABOUT THE SIXTH OR SEVENTH YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN THAT NOW IS, FOR PROFESSING THE APOSTOLICK ROMAN CATHOLICK FFAITH WAS IMPRISONED FIRST AT CHESTER CASTLE; THEN SENT TO THE MARSHALSEA; THEN TO YORK CASTLE; THEN TO THE BLOCKHOUSES IN HULL; THEN TO THE GATEHOUSE IN WESTMINSTER; THEN TO MANCHESTER; THEN TO BROUGHTON IN OXFORDSHIRE: THEN TWICE TO ELY IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE; AND SO NOW, SEVENTY-THREE YEARS OLD, AND BLIND, IS BOUND TO APPEAR AND KEEP WITHIN FIVE MILES OF TOWNELEY HIS HOUSE. WHO HATH SINCE THE STATUTE OF THE TWENTY-THIRD PAID INTO THE EXCHEQUER TWENTY POUNDS A MONTH, AND DOTH STILL; SO THAT THERE IS PAID ALREADY ABOVE FFIVE THOUSAND POUNDS, AN. DNI. ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND ONE. JOHN TOWNELEY OF TOWNELEY IN LANCASHIRE."

When such records of persecution meet the gaze, they cannot but cause a blush on the cheek of all who have any regard for their country's fair fame; and a feeling of the heartiest respect for those who so bravely endured and patiently suffered.

But the case of Esquire Thomas Pounde of Belmont* is even more noteworthy, and, because of the facts it lays bare and the lessons it teaches, deserves to be recounted at some length. Born on May 29th, 1539, he was the son of William Pounde, Esquire, a wealthy country gentleman of Hampshire, by Anne Wriothesley, sister of Thomas, Earl of Southampton. His early years had been spent at the College of Our Blessed Lady of Winchester, where he patiently studied, preparing himself for forensic labours and legal responsibilities. When of age, in form and figure he was tall, handsome, and graceful. His features were regular and well-formed. His strength was great, and he excelled in all gymnastic exercises, and such sports as the country gentlemen of that period indulged in. His mental capacities were considerable. Brave, courteous, of remarkably polished manners, eloquent in speech (his voice being sweet and musical), and of ready wit, he was always perfectly self-possessed and quite at ease in the com-

* The authorities for the above narrative are Father Bartoli's "Istoria S. J. d'Inghilterra," Ed. 1825; "The Rambler," vol. ii., for 1857; "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. clix. 36, vol. cc. 59, vol. cci. 53, vol. clxxviii. 74, vol. cxc. 44, vol. cxcv. 32 and 34, vol. cciii. 20, vol. cxcv. 115, and also "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," A.D. 1582, No. 58, containing some of Pounde's MSS.—a long poem, in two parts, no doubt intercepted by some spy.

pany of his equals and superiors. As a scholar his abilities were considerable. He was a poet of no mean order, as existing specimens prove. He wrote Latin prose with singular grace and purity, and artfully penned many verses in that language of much vigour and sweetness. On one occasion, when the Queen was received at Winchester College, Pounde recited, amid great applause, a complimentary Ode, which he himself had composed in honour of Her Majesty.

He had always theoretically accepted the Faith of his fathers, and looked upon the New Religion with something like contempt; but he had grown indifferent when, as a youth, he became attached to the Court—one of the most lax, dissolute, and irreligious of any in Europe—and was ready and willing to swim with the tide; so that subsequently he conformed outwardly to that form of misbelief and worship then popular. When he ceased to practise the Old Faith, he soon became indifferent and ungodly—tinctured by the indifference or wickedness of those around.

During the octave of Christmas 1569, the Court held high festival. The three Masses for the Feast of the Nativity had been then abolished for more than ten years. Morning service, consisting of prayers, psalms, canticles, and collects, took their place. But few cared to attend these. A Paganism in taste had long permeated all the

Christmas festivities. Interludes, plays, masques, concerts, and dances took place day by day. The religious element, now thoroughly unpopular, had been cast out in the observance of Christmas; and few there were who did not far prefer the secular games, so exciting, to the dreary dissertations of the more fanatical sermon-mongers. Pounde had not only helped to compose masques, but, at Kenilworth Castle, five years previously, had taken part in acting them. On this occasion, Lord Leicester being the host, they were arranged and carried out with unusual magnificence.

The flower of the nobility were there. Its youth and its beauty were gathered to do honour to the Queen. Money had been spent in profusion by all those who arranged the entertainments; much of which of right belonged to the Ancient Church, its abbeys and bishoprics*—for the more money they thus squandered, the better was the Queen pleased.

An occurrence then took place, which changed the course of Pounde's life. It occurred thus:—

He was a remarkable dancer, and combining

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* "1588, July. A grant to the Earl of Leicester of seven hundred pounds lands, whereof five hundred pounds to be resumed from bishopricks and two hundred pounds of attaynted lands."—"Burghley State Papers," p. 788. Edited by W. Murdin. London: 1759.

good looks, skill, and a most graceful figure, greatly attracted the Queen. In one dance he so outstripped himself in grace and agility, that at its close Her Majesty seized him by the hand, which, with smiles and leers, she most approvingly squeezed; and then snatching Lord Leicester's velvet cap, placed it on Pounde's head, whom she thought, after his violent exertions, might otherwise catch cold. The Queen was so delighted at his performance, that she commanded its immediate repetition. No greater compliment could have been paid him.

He repeated it in part, when, all of a sudden, becoming giddy and losing his balance, he stumbled, staggered, and fell close to the Queen's feet. The recent applause was soon followed by peals of laughter from all sides, and by shouts of derision.

Upon this the Queen contemptuously kicked him with her foot, and with marked sarcasm—parodying the formula of making a knight—exclaimed, "Rise, Sir Ox," and then, turning away, joined the Court in laughing at what was mistakingly deemed his awkwardness.

He rose promptly, bent his knee to Her Majesty, and was heard to exclaim, with downcast eyes, "*Sic transit gloria mundi.*" He had been touched to the quick. Hurrying from the Royal presence, he left the Court for ever, retiring to his paternal

mansion at Belmont, and burying himself for days in solitude. There he blamed himself for the thirty years of past life, and made the firmest resolutions of future amendment. He was soon reconciled to the Ancient Faith, making restitution and doing severe penances for his lapse. He then left his paternal home, and gave himself up to solitude,—to prayer, self-denial, and mortification. He likewise bound himself by a vow to practise perpetual chastity, and resolved, after seven years of probation, to offer himself for the priesthood. He was likewise most earnest in making converts, and desired to become a member of the Society of Jesus. Betrayed by one of these converts, however—an insincere and false friend—he was taken before Sandys, Bishop of London, who interrogated him as to his religion, and then, in the year 1574, put him into prison. He was charged with no crime whatsoever, with no violation of the laws, and no accusation was made against him. He was nevertheless imprisoned on the strength of recent Parliamentary enactments, and frequently tortured with the utmost cruelty.

He thus suffered, firstly, because he had enjoined upon his co-religionists at Winchester and elsewhere, that they should steadily refuse "the Supper" of the ministers, and decline even to enter the desecrated churches; and, secondly, be-

cause he was known to have been about to leave England without a license.

Sandys came to him in prison and distinctly offered him his liberty if he would but once attend the new services and hear a sermon. But he civilly and calmly answered—"If I cannot recover my liberty otherwise than by offending God, I am firmly resolved that my soul shall rather be torn from my body, than that this flesh shall go forth out of prison on such terms." *

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* "He is the only son and heir of his father, a Catholic, but his mother, being still alive, as yet enjoys the paternal mansion and estates which fell to him at his father's death. He is thirty-eight years of age, of a tall and handsome figure, a flowing beard, and a pleasing countenance. In the prison he dresses most handsomely, thinking thus to inspire Catholics with greater courage, and also to conciliate the authorities. He has not yet made his philosophy, but is well up in his humanities, and wonderfully devoted to the study of the holy Fathers. He is eloquent in his native tongue, and equally fluent in speaking and writing, and much practised in the art of exhortation and persuasion . . . . . For the greater part of the time I lived with him, I mention only what I have myself witnessed, he used to impose severe austerities upon himself, the ground being his miserable bed; he spent one hour at midnight in prayer, with great spiritual gust, and followed this by spiritual reading at daybreak. He would then resume his meditation for two, three, or four hours, and spend the rest of the day in reading the holy Fathers, giving two or three hours to prayer again in the evening. The heretics reported him as a superstitious fool or a madman; his domestics, and even some of his friends, thought the same of him, saying that he was imprudently severe against himself. But all this he courageously disregarded, and persevered in his

For this bold and unambiguous reply, evidencing his true nobility of character, he was retained in confinement for six months longer; but subsequently liberated on bail at the intervention of his relation, Lord Southampton. Thus for awhile Pounde was at liberty.

Hereupon he retired to his paternal house in Hampshire, where his widowed mother resided; but Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, irritated at his religious zeal and controversial acuteness, by which he secured many adherents; and terribly annoyed at his skill in public dispute and his brave bearing, handed him over with some others to the secular arm, as an obstinate and dangerous recusant. He was soon committed to the local prison, but subsequently sent to London and lodged in the Marshalsea.*

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manner of life, till they were forced to change their reproaches into admiration."—"Letter from Thomas Stephens," dated 4th Nov. 1578, Public Record Office, Brussels.

* "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cxl. 40.—"He remanded Pounde offhand from the Marshalsea, London, to be immured in a distant prison. This was Stortford, or Bishops' Stortford, Castle, Herts, thirty miles from London, on the confines of Essex, a lonely place well chosen for his purpose. Pounde was thrust into a cell, a few feet under the ground, in which was perpetual night, no ray of the sun nor any gleam of light ever entering there whereby to distinguish between day and night. No one was allowed to visit him, for wherever this had been permitted, he had gained many to the Catholic faith. The bare and dirty ground was his bed,

The following paragraph from a contemporary letter exactly describes how this came to pass :—

"When before the Bishop and a great assembly of spectators, he rendered so brilliant an account of his Faith in the presence of them all, and so severely rebuked the Bishop himself, that the latter was unable for very rage and confusion to say a word in reply. . . . After this they were all given into separate custody, and Mr. Pounde was thrust into the prison of the common thieves. But when the Bishop saw that many

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a pair of heavy fetters was put on his legs, and handcuffs on his wrists, with chains attached, besides many other sufferings added by his brutal gaoler. As the blacksmith was about to rivet the shackles upon his legs, Thomas endeavoured to kiss them, whereupon the smith inhumanly struck him with them on the head, and drew blood ; when, with undisturbed countenance, he exclaimed, 'Would that blood might here flow from the inmost veins of my heart for the cause for which I suffer!' The blacksmith was astonished at his fervour and patience under so great and so unprovoked an injury. And it pleased God, in reward for the merit of his patience, to give Mr. Pounde that soul, moving the smith to demand of him whence he possessed so great confidence that he was of the true religion, seeing that in England 'Papist' and 'reprobate' were synonymous terms. The prisoner gave the man such strong reasons and convincing proofs that he was vanquished and afterwards became a Catholic, in punishment for which act he was cast into prison, where he died piously in chains."—"Life of Thomas Pounde, of Belmont," by Henry Foley, in "Records of the English Province," vol. iii. pp. 592–593, to which the author is greatly indebted for several facts and much information.

were impressed by his example, and specially by his fastings and prayers, being things deemed simply impossibilities amongst them, he removed him from his diocese, as if he were a pest, and remanded him to London, where to this day he perseveres in prison to the great consolation and edification of many." *

Later on, upon a certain occasion, the renowned Father Campion had given to Pounde a MS. copy of his celebrated "Challenge," † which on reading, again and again, he became so greatly impressed by the force of its arguments and its general power and point, that he communicated it to a Catholic neighbour, Benjamin Tichbourne; and a copy having been found by the Sheriff of Wiltshire and sent up to the Privy Council, Watson, Bishop of Winchester, and others feared its effect so greatly, that no stone was left unturned to punish all who had aided in its distribution or publication.

This poor gentleman's life, in truth, was a continual martyrdom. For more than thirty years he was securely kept in prison, and for long periods in complete solitary confinement, enduring continuous tortures. After being for one year in

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* Letter from Thomas Stephens, dated 4th November 1578. Original, in Latin, in the Public Record Office, Brussels.

† "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cxlii. 20.

Newgate, he had been removed to the Marshalsea*; then to Bishop's Stortford†; then to the Tower; then to the Compter on the south side of the Thames; thence to Wisbeach Castle, where for ten years he dwelt with many priests and laymen. In 1597 he was again sent to the Tower, —where altogether he had been confined for ten years,—subsequently to the City Compter; after that to the White Lion, then to the Gate House at Westminster; subsequently to the Fleet Prison, and lastly to Framlingham.

Having thus suffered imprisonment for the long period of years already mentioned; having, more-

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* "He is buried in a prison under-ground, totally dark and gloomy; having no other light than that of an oil lamp . . . . He sleeps for the most part of the night on the damp ground; bound sometimes with one, two, and often with three iron fetters."—"Letter from Father Parsons to the Father General," given in Bartoli's "Inghilterra," lib. i., cap. xvij. 134.

† When Pounde was at Bishop's Stortford, Norton, the rack-master, visited him, and going back to Sir F. Walsingham, reported that he was a religious lunatic, and that Bedlam would be his most suitable place of residence. It may not be uninteresting to notice that this Norton's own wife, being possessed of an evil spirit, died in a state of violent madness. —Document, State Paper Office, dated March 27, 1582. Pounde himself thus described his state to a former friend and ally at Court:—"O God! Sir Christopher, I wolde you saw the spectacle of it, what a place I am brought into here. It is nothing but a large vast room, cold water, bare walls, nor windows, but loupholes too high to looke out at; nor bed, nor bedsteade, nor place very fit for any."—"Letter from Pounde to Sir Christopher Hatton," dated 18th of September 1580.

over, paid the value of more than two-thirds of the whole of his property into the Royal Exchequer in fines for recusancy* ; being consequently harassed by debt, and driven by sheer necessity to do so, upon Elizabeth's death, he appealed to King James I., stating at length, in writing, some of the horrible cruelties which had been practised on so many of his Catholic friends and neighbours† because of their religion. He was thoroughly out-spoken and plain-spoken, and his words impressed the King greatly. His Majesty speedily referred the petition to the Judges, who tried the case in the Star Chamber. There he defended himself most earnestly and adroitly, with

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* The late Mr. Richard Simpson, in "The Rambler," for 1857, pointed out that Esquire Pounde once asserted to the Bishop of Winchester that he had paid upwards of four thousand pounds in fines alone rather than go to church for the new service and abandon his religion. "Multiply that sum by twelve," remarks Mr. Simpson, so as to calculate this amount by the value of money in this day, "and we shall have the present equivalent of the cost of Catholicity to an English gentleman of the sixteenth century."

† Bishop Cowper of Winchester wrote to Sir F. Walsingham, on Dec. 10th, 1585, against any favour being shown to the wife of one Mr. Pitts, of Alton, in Hampshire, committed to the Clink, who was a very obstinate person and natural sister to Nicholas Sander the traitor. *Her return to Winchester*, as the Bishop maintains, *would do more harm than ten sermons would do good.* "No man," he remarks, "whose wife is a recusant is sound himself."—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. clxxxv. 17.

consummate ability and remarkable boldness. From his own truly Christian standing-point, setting forth the legal cruelties constantly practised, he proved the full truth of the facts in his petition. The Attorney-General, however, informed the Court that any man who disparaged and disobeyed the laws recently passed against the Patriarch of the West and the Primate of Christendom, was plainly guilty of high treason. Whosoever, he maintained, acknowledges the Primacy and Jurisdiction of the See Apostolic—obviously the case with Pounde—makes the English Sovereign a Sovereign only by a very uncertain tenure, and himself an enemy and traitor to his King and country. Priests who do so are rather Apostates than Apostles, adding that a Gracchus should not complain of sedition, nor people of the old but discarded religion, like this disobedient and self-willed ecclesiastical layman, of severity. Pounde was consequently condemned, for the Court had been duly and carefully packed. He was fined five thousand pounds and ordered to be exposed in the pillory in three different places.

Subsequently, when the King had resolved to banish all priests, His Majesty determined on releasing the laity in prison. Pounde was then permitted to go out, and received in addition a special license to go abroad. But, because of old

age and infirmity, he retired to his old home, by that time desolate, disorganized, and miserably dilapidated.

Since his retirement from Court, he had always lived a life of singular devotion, recollectedness, and self-denial. He took food only once a day, until old age obliged him to modify this rule. From day to day he saw clearly that the next might be his last. He was therefore always most vigilant. No fear of death, however, ever prevented him from expressing openly his religious belief, or from doing all that lay in his power to warn people against the innovators and their dangerous principles. For this he became ever liable to the gross, cruel, and disgusting punishment for high treason. But he was in no state of fear. The hanging-post, the butcher's knife, and the caldron of boiling pitch had no terrors for him. The enemies of God might do their worst. They could but torture and mangle his body. His faith was keen and firm. His feet were planted on a rock. He constantly prayed, studied the Catholic Fathers with care and attention, and wrote some useful and pertinent treatises against existing errors. In prison or out of prison he was always devoting himself to building up the weak and wavering in the Faith. His calm demeanour under great trials, and his courageous but mildly-spoken and musical words

in the presence of heretics and schismatics, greatly strengthened those who stood in fear of consequences. For as to himself, he was ever prepared to do what was right and true, rather than that which was politic and expedient; while he confidently left all consequences and results, of what kind soever, in the hands of God. The New Religion—for such in truth it was—not only had no charms for him, but was positively repulsive. Both in ordinary conversation and in careful writing he plainly and fearlessly maintained that Queen Elizabeth was not only not the Head and Ruler of the True Old Church in England, but that she had not the shadow or a shred of spiritual jurisdiction, above any other woman, or over anyone,—which was of course the case. Over the new community, which had been made by Parliament, confined within the natural boundary of Her Majesty's dominions, she was of course wholly and truly supreme; and, as far as Parliament could make her so, she was, and was always recognized as, the Supreme Governess or Head of this newly-organized Church of England. The contrast between it, however, and the Old Church was almost as great as contrast could be, The two institutions were remarkably dissimilar, as all could see, and as both sides admitted. Where Authority had been intentionally cast out from a Christian State, Disorder, Discord, and Chaos,

must ere long come in like a flood. This, as we know, was too soon abundantly the case.

Pounde lived to die in the very same room of his old Hampshire home in which, seventy-six years before, he had first seen the light of day. "My dear and most-loved country," he exclaimed on his death-bed, "may God soon convert thee out of this wretched and pitiful captivity of schism, confusion, and heresy!" Its awful and Babel-like state was constantly before him, even to the end. His soul passed to the particular judgment-seat when the March winds were wild and keen, and when the crocus shot up its saffron leaves, and the snow-drop told of the resurrection of the dead. But the spring sunshine, falling through the pictured panes of Belmont, lit up the oaken room where, with a crucifix on his breast, he lay shrouded and coffined, waiting for a final resting-place in the neighbouring churchyard; and where a few devoted relatives, weeping over their loss, commended his righteous soul to the keeping of a merciful Creator, God the Trinity; and asked the blessed aid and intercession of the angels and saints in white near and about the Throne, that the departed might soon enjoy eternal peace, and live in the light which never grows dim.

Of another somewhat similar case of persecution, which ended even more painfully and most

sadly, Father Grene has left on record the following brief account :—

"I remember about fifteen or sixteen years ago there was one Mr. Horsley, a gentleman of the North, as I have heard. . . . He was taken, brought to York, before the Council, who sent him about nine of the clock in the night to the Castle, where he had double irons laid on him, and took them merrily. The next morning the Council sent for him and committed him to the Bishop's Prison, or Peter Prison, and laid irons on him; and there straitly and cruelly he was used, for almost none could learn where he was committed till he was sent back again to Hull, and there monstrously abused; for he was there arraigned and condemned to have his ears cut off, and cruelly they did [so]. Then the tyrants put him in a filthy place and prison called the Hall, and kept him straitly, for he was thought to be a Catholic; and, therefore, they fined him, for he was glad to eat the crusts which some threw in at the window. Thus starving him he died, and lay dead so long (how long none knoweth) that the rats had eaten his face and other places."

That the Old Religion should in due course

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* Father Grene's MSS. in the English College at Rome, vol. F.

have gradually lost its adherents in England is not to be wondered at, when such records of cruelty and torture as those just related are duly had in consideration. In some parts the villages had become depopulated,* more especially those adjacent to the old religious houses. Cottage after cottage had been removed, grange and manor and yeoman's mansion went to decay and ruin. The only wonder is that any ancient families remained at all, to lift up their testimony by deed as well as by word through later times of misery, rebellion, and revolution; and to bear witness to the Catholicity and continuity of the religion of St. Edward the Confessor and William Wainflete, in which, by divine grace, and greatly to the benefit of their native land, they continued to believe.

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* "Whereby is it come to pass that where before there dwelt many a good yeoman able to do the king and the realm good service, there is nobody now dwelling but a shepherd with his dog, but by the suppression of the abbeys? Whereby is it that whereas men were wont to eat sheep, now sheep eat up houses, whole towns, yea men and all, but by the suppression of the abbeys? What is the decay of tillage but the suppression of the abbeys? What is the decay of woods and the cause of the excessive price of wood, but the suppression of the said abbeys, which did carefully nourish, supply, and husband the same?"—"The Pretended Divorce between Henry VIII. and Queen Katherine," by Nicholas Harpsfield, edited by N. Pocock, p. 299. London: 1878.

There were some tortures which were extremely agonizing to those who endured them, and one might have imagined distressing to witness by those who were officially enjoined to make use of them. One such form of punishment consisted in hanging people up to a beam with cords by the joints of their fingers or wrists, until, because of sheer agony, they swooned and lost all consciousness. On one occasion, as Sir John Harington states, Topcliffe was called upon to explain to the Queen the method of this torture, and to give a detailed account of its results. The Queen listened with attention, and Topcliffe was afterwards rewarded substantially for his efficiency and resolution. Here is a single example taken out of many :—

In the year 1594, "Father John Ingram, priest, being apprehended in the North country, brought to York to the Lord President, where he was kept in his porter['s] lodge about two months close prisoner, having secret conference with Dr. Favor and others, and dealt withal both with lenity and extremity. When they had used all the means they could, and could not prevail against him, they sent him to London to the torturers where he was hung [up] by the joints of his fingers and arms in extreme pain so long that the feeling of his senses were clean taken from him. After that they sent him again to York, where he was

committed to Ousebridge, kept there close prisoner in a low, stinking vault, locked in a jakes-house the space of four days, without either bed to lie on or stool to sit on; from thence carried into the North, pinioned with a cord, where he was apprehended, committed to Durham gaol, brought at the Assizes there before the judges, condemned, and executed." *

Here follows the record of a form of persecution and torture which cannot be more distinctly referred to :—

"John Pearson, a venerable old priest, was imprisoned for many years at Durham for refusing to attend the heretical services. After enduring with great patience the close confinement of an underground dungeon, he was removed to another far worse, and thrust amongst a set of thieves. This was done at a time when he was suffering from a burning fever. Here, as if the very filthiness of the place, with its accompaniments, were not torture enough to a refined man of advanced age, the thieves out of mere malice became his tormentors. For while he was taking his meals, they . . . caused him such nausea that he could not retain the poor nourishment he

* "Notes by a Prisoner in Ousebridge Kidcote" in "Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers," Third Series, p. 314. London: 1877.

had taken. By this more than savage treatment received at the hands of these pitiless wretches, he was, before many days were passed, worn out, and so passed to a better life." *

As it was in the North so it was in the South of England. For example:—In 1591, Roger Dickenson, who had been ordained at Rheims, and who ministered to those of the old religion near Winchester, was caught, arraigned for this "offence," as it was deemed, condemned, and sent up to London to be similarly tortured in the hope of his betraying his friends and co-religionists, which he firmly and faithfully declined to do. With him suffered Ralph Milner, a poor married man, with a large family, having been convicted of aiding and abetting Father Dickenson in saying Mass by serving him. In this case the Judge openly offered him his life if he would only once attend the new services, and acknowledge the Queen's supremacy in spirituals. But he firmly declined. And when the offer was repeated to him in prison, the day before he suffered, he still refused it with scorn, but in very simple and respectful language. On the morning of his last day upon earth, when he was about to suffer a frightful and cruel death, his seven miserable chil-

* Notes by Father Grene in "Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers," Third Series, p. 315. London: 1877.

dren in tears were brought to him, in the hope that the sight of them, about to become orphans, might melt his constancy. But instead of yielding to the reasonable suggestions of Nature, he first embraced them affectionately, gave them each his last paternal blessing, urged them to a pious life after the old rules, and declared in the hearing of the anxious and interested multitude around, that he could wish his sorrowing little ones no greater happiness than to shed their blood in defence of the True Faith. The two sufferers died on the 7th of July 1591, by the accustomed cruelties, and after the disgusting legal barbarities had been duly perpetrated.

Seven maiden ladies were likewise condemned to death at the same Assizes for having harboured Dickenson and heard Mass, but for very shame's sake on the part of the Judge were reprieved and imprisoned.

At the same time the persecution of the Brownists, Puritans and anti-prelate agitators went on apace. They, too, suffered severely, and often bore their sufferings bravely and manfully. For example:—

Two men, John Greenwood, a clergyman, and Henry Barrow, a lawyer, were, in the spring of 1595, convicted of having written sundry seditious books tending to the slander of the Queen and State. In these there were violent attacks

on the Book of Common Prayer, and on the Queen as sanctioning its use. Their publications had been sown broadcast, and being in strong and vigorous language, readily found readers. In the opinion of the Judges such productions conclusively proved that their authors denied to the Queen her rightful spiritual supremacy as bestowed upon her by Parliament. On the 31st of March they were taken to Tybourne, and temporarily reprieved, but were both cruelly executed there on the 6th of April.

Two months afterwards, Henry Penry, a native of Wales, was tried, under an Act passed in the twenty-third year of the Queen's reign, for having uttered "seditious words and rumours against the Queen." He had received his education at both Universities, and was a young man of considerable abilities and great power of invective. His writings, full of the keenest satires of the bishops, whom he described as "limbs of Antichrist," were directed forcibly against the then state of affairs, and more particularly against the Queen as making, governing, and deposing the prelates. His indirect account of the state of affairs then existing in the Church is often graphic, entertaining, and startling. Comprehension* was cer-

* A cathedral dignitary of research and candour, Mr. Prebendary Walcott, remarks in his Introduction to the

tainly considerable, but what principle obtained save that of persecution it is not easy to determine. He is generally credited with having been the author of the Martin Marprelate Tracts, which were personally most distasteful to Her Majesty, and, of course, entirely subversive of her spiritual supremacy. For the preachers maintained their own official superiority in things spiritual to that of the Queen. In Wales, where the Old Religion had been for some years slowly dying out, he preached and exhorted, in woods and fields, churchyards and village greens, with singular power and unusual boldness. On several occasions he defied the bishops, whom he covered with ridicule and satire, and challenged their officers to do their worst against him. Many people followed his lead, often applauding to the echo his daring statements, while his various publica-

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"Canons of the Church of England" (Parker: 1874) that "comprehension without compromise of principle is the true policy of our Communion"—a state of affairs certainly not yet arrived at, after all these years; and no more likely to be attained by the corporation in question, apparently, than the "godly discipline of the Primitive Church,"—the absence of which is formally lamented by everybody on every recurring Ash-Wednesday, but which discipline nobody has the least intention of endeavouring to restore, or the least desire of restoring, or the smallest expectation of living to see restored. There is plenty of comprehension, abundance of compromise, and exceeding little principle.

tions, scattered profusely by faithful allies, became seriously damaging to the new religious establishment. He was seized at Stepney, charged, and condemned. He was found guilty, not from any statements in his publications, nor from admissions of his own, but from the contents and terms of certain manuscript *memoranda* found upon him, containing the heads of a Petition to the Queen. To strike directly at the Bishops and their jurisdiction, however, was, as the judges laid down, to strike indirectly and wickedly at Her Majesty. For the Queen had notoriously made the bishops by her supreme spiritual authority, all defects having been overcome, and all difficulties removed by a special Act of Parliament: if, therefore, ministers and people disparaged and contemned the bishops, they thus disparaged and contemned the Queen and her spiritual supremacy. Hastily hurried from dinner, Penry was not allowed to secure a remission or mitigation of his sentence by a declaration of his faith, which he seemed ready to make, or by an exposition of his allegiance to the Queen. A riot on the part of his adherents being anticipated, he was hurried off to St. Thomas of Waterings in the Kent Road, and there barbarously executed.* Thus, at the early age of thirty-

* See Stowe's "Chronicle," p. 765; Strype's "Annals," vol. iv. p. 176.

four, he died for conscience' sake,—for being unable to accept the new reformed system, which he himself, with equal reason and authority, desired to reform anew. The judges, who condemned him, maintained that any attacks upon the Liturgy, which the Queen had settled and appointed to be used, was a distinct denial of the supreme spiritual authority of the Queen, as bestowed upon Her Majesty by Parliament, and consequently that such offence was treason.

During the last ten years of the Queen's reign very little real belief in the New Religion existed. Even the opinions of experienced official people differed concerning its value. Of course those who had benefited by it in things temporal, as in duty bound, tried to prop it up morally. Parliamentary props, however, having thus early broken in the using, were found to be only of small value. Dr. William James,* then Dean of Durham, complained loudly to the Council of the utter indifference and lofty contempt with which he and his disputatious co-religionists in the North were treated; and gave a most miserable

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* Dr. William James had been Master of University College in 1572, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1584, Dean of Durham in 1596. Eventually he became Bishop of Durham.

and depressing account of the state of morals* in those parts. The married clergy were still treated with great contumely, and continued to be the subject of much "mislike" and satire. Holgate, some years previously, had set a bad example.† On the other hand, the Dean of Durham went on to declare that "the number of recusants is great and increases‡; and, as they are of good calling

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* "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cclxii. 25, cclxiii. 55 (A.D. 1597). See also "Considerations in favour of Erecting a College at Ripon. *The people in a manner are all ignorant in religion, having been for above thirty years untaught.*"—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cccxxxiv. 35.

† "As a sound English Churchman so forcibly remarked: "What a pitiful case was it to see old, doting, lecherous priests and bishops of sixty, seventy, yea, and of eighty, years of age, run a catterwawling; among whom [was] one Holgate, Archbishop of York, a man about four score years of age, which had been a religious man [*i.e.* a Gilbertine Prior] also, married a young girl of fourteen or fifteen years of age, and yet for three causes she never was his wife: the one for that he had been a religious man and had solemnly vowed chastity; the second for that he was a priest; and the third for that she was betrothed to another man, and by very force kept from him."—"The Pretended Divorce between Henry VIII. and Queen Katherine," by Nicholas Harpsfield, LL.D., edited by N. Pocock, pp. 275–276. London: 1878.

‡ A remarkable and acute theologian, as well as an able ecclesiastical statesman, thus confirms the Dean's impression as to the increase of "recusants":—"I see on every side cause of hope and fear. In these days the ports are so strictly closed that few escape of those who come to us, or go from us to England. Ten who were coming over to these parts have been seized in the very port and sent

and wealth, and generally refuse to confer with any, or to join in prayer for Her Majesty, we suppose that many of them are reconciled." It was not to their "ignorance" that his very reverence so much objected, as to their firm faith and good resolutions. They avowedly preferred the religion of their forefathers, since St. Augustine's day, to any modern "gospel" which the Dean, at the dictation of the Queen and Parliament, might officially recommend to them. "They are," he continued, "almost all ignorant and obstinate, generally refuse all conference, and not only do not come to church, but, when prayers are had before us, the Commissioners, for Her Majesty's safety and protection from all her enemies, the Pope and Spaniard, they have denied to say 'Amen'"—a plain dereliction of duty. These good people, who would not respond, evidently held that the Faith was not a matter to squabble about, to confer concerning, or to mutilate and halve, but to accept heartily, to believe thoroughly, and to defend faithfully. Nor would they, as they so constantly declared, pray with those of a dif-

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back, or rather dragged *vi et armis* before the Privy Council. *The number of Catholics daily increases in a wonderful manner.* Our brethren are animated with such zeal amidst these dangers that it is difficult to restrain them."—Letter of Dr. Richard Barrett, of Rheims, dated Dec. 28, 1583. Translated from the original in the archives of Westminster.

ferent religion. "Your religion is not mine, mine is not thine, as thou ofttimes avowest; how then, if we be not joined, may we pray together?" asked one. Another somewhat pointedly and powerfully put on record that "an aunciente body with a newe Head, must be a dead body—a meere corpse." Several prayed in secret, after the old manner, and observed the ancient rites, feast,* fast, and solemnity, as best they could. Migratory priests of the old rite came round occasionally to aid, and minister to, trusted families. "Many of them," the Dean went on to inform Lord Burghley, "are married, if not by seminaries and Jesuits, by old Mass priests,† and by the words of the Mass Book (?) ‡; their children are not christened in the churches, neither do their

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* A remembrance of the Catholic festivals took some time to die out, as the following extract from the "Parochial Registers of Chearsly, Bucks," shows:—"1611 Domini anno, 23 day of May, Ihon parker, otherwise called Iohn Richardson, and Jane Woodebridge, were married together *die Corporis Christi.*"

† The race of "old Mass priests"—those, that is, who had been ordained under Queen Mary—were, in the current opinion of all English deans and dignitaries, of quite a different order to those recently appointed.

‡ In Elizabeth's time the Salisbury Manual was used for baptisms by the clergy of the Old Faith; and a convenient abbreviated edition of the Sarum Missal, printed abroad—of which the Rev. W. J. Blew owns a rare copy—was carried about by the old clergy.

wives go there to return thanks for deliverance; their education is in the same way, not being [brought] up in common or good schools, but at home and in secret; and with their nurses' milk they suck [in] dislike and disloyalty, and learn first to hate the Truth"—by which this grumbling worthy* evidently means his own form of misbelief—"before they know it, which I wish was only a disease in the North": a very expressive and notable testimony of universal failure everywhere on the part of the authorities in State and Church, even with the aid of rack and gyves, spy and false witness, fine, pillory, floggings, and expatriation, to secure either regard or respect for their daring novelties and un-Catholic innovations.

* The previous dean, Dr. Toby Matthews, who afterwards became Bishop of Durham, is said to have preached no less than five hundred and fifty sermons during twelve years—a remarkable homiletic feat in those days; but one which apparently had effected extremely little good, measured by the too accurate gauge of his outspoken successor.

CHAPTER V.

Such executions as those just recorded,—they were still very numerous,—serve to place in a strong light both the personal bloodthirstiness of the Queen (passed over by Protestant historians) and the stern, cruel, and intolerant spirit of the age in which she ruled. The former is perfectly apparent when the actual influence which Elizabeth insisted on exercising is duly remembered. At her Council-board she was no mere dummy in diadem and diamonds; but, having a will and power of her own, constantly exercised them with authority and decision. She was always interested in the work of "Seminary-hunting," as it was termed; she listened with engrossed attention to Burghley's accounts of what had happened in the work of dismembering and disembowelling her religious opponents. Of Topcliffe's secret dealings

with the poor prisoners in his keeping—to whom the well-born wretch showed no mercy—she often ordered that all the intricate cruelties of the torture-chamber should be either recorded on paper, or recounted in person, for her satisfaction. She herself was on "the side of the Lord Jesus Christ" she asserted, and would maintain at any cost "the Blessed Faith of the Blessed Gospel." The men who were imprisoned, tortured, hung, and disembowelled, were "ministers of Satan's synagogue," "wily slaves of Antichrist"; consequently there could be "no communion betwixt Christ and Belial," between those of the Old Religion and those of the New.* Her new prelates

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* In the "Tablet" of February 17th, 1877, "An English Catholic" objects to members of the Church of England using Father Faber's beautiful hymn, "Faith of Our Fathers," and makes the following reasonable and pertinent remarks:—"For three centuries and more, according to their opportunities and the progressive stages of opinion and civilisation, they [Anglicans] have burned and hanged us, ripped us up, confiscated our private property, seized our churches, universities, ecclesiastical titles and revenues, kept us out of Parliament, insulted our hierarchy, and in all possible ways made the exercise of the Christian faith difficult. Now, when the more refined part of these enjoyments is withdrawn from them they turn round, but without penitence or satisfaction, and take the fruits of our long centuries of desolation and endurance . . . . Which 'Faith' do the Protestant singers mean? Do they mean the Faith as professed before Cranmer, or as professed after him and after Parker? If after, they associate themselves with the pre-

had long ago proved from Scripture, as they maintained, that torture was reasonable, and that all Mass-mongers, being idolators, should be killed. Special tortures, as in Archbishop Heath's case, the Queen herself had sometimes recommended or personally enjoined; she was greatly irritated and disappointed that those who suffered because of Babington's plot could not have their death-sufferings made crueller and considerably prolonged; while, when clever and distinguished adherents of the Old Religion were the subjects of them, she frequently signed death-warrants with an expression of satisfaction from her lips or a twinkle of demoniacal delight in her eye. The cruel, whether women or men, are ever cowardly. And all the while Elizabeth was a pitiful coward. While dreading pain herself, and greatly fearing death, she frequently exhibited the most contemptible delight at the mental and physical sufferings of her victims. Occasionally, as in the case of Thomas Pormorte, who was executed on February 20th, 1592, she displayed the grossest and most cruel levity when affixing her sign-

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tended 'Martyrs' of Foxe, and to the statements of Cranmer, Jewel, Parker, and the rest of that company. If, however, they mean the Faith professed in the ancient Church of England, and retained by suffering Catholics ever since to this day, then the reply of the Church of Jesus Christ is —*Nescio vos.*"

manual to the death-warrant,—an exhibition which disgusted some who were present, as the Duchess of Feria (one of the Oxfordshire Dormers) put on record.

On some occasions, the Queen was informed that her enemies were seeking her life* and plotting to poison or assassinate her. Sometimes the Court authorities artfully made use of these pieces of gossip, or random rumours, or bragging utterances of excited fanatics,† in order to induce her to be less wayward and uncertain, both in her home and foreign policy, and to act on some particular occasion with decision. What often appeared to authenticate such reports were the

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On one occasion Father Robert Parsons carefully and strongly dissuaded certain persons from even entertaining such a notion. No one can at all wonder at the idea entering the minds of the poor, down-trodden, shamefully persecuted Catholics; but, to one man who seems to have actually gone a hundred miles on his way to attempt the Queen's life, Father Parsons reasoned with him because "the English Catholiques themselves desired not to be delyvered from their miseries by any such attempt," and convinced him of the inexpediency of such a policy.

† On October 28th, 1583, divers persons were examined before John D'Oyley concerning John Somerfield's [ville] speeches against Her Majesty, having maintained that he intended to shoot her through with his dagg, and hoped to see her head set on a pole; for that she was a serpent and a viper.—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, vol. clxiii., Nos. 23, 53, 54, 55.

tattling letters of spies, foreign and home appointed, who in order to prove their intense interest in Her Majesty's tortuous policy, their devotion to her person, and to show that they had themselves merited the rewards and favours bestowed upon them, were less scrupulous than they might have been in the rumours they so artfully dressed up, or in the circumstantial accounts they had deliberately invented.* A spy who spied nothing worth noting was both a poor and an expensive tool. A disguised agent abroad who did nothing was a still poorer. A falsehood-monger who circulated no falsehoods was like a goldsmith without any gold—of small repute and less value. The agents, therefore, were obliged to be at once imaginative and inventive, so as to entrap the unwary, excite the enthusiastic, and betray the innocent; the spies, furthermore, were often as daring, bold, and lying as their degraded office compelled them to be. They were, in fact, occasionally, quite worthy of the woman who officially

* "To satisfy their employers they were often compelled to transmit false and alarming intelligence; sometimes they actually formed conspiracies that they might have the merit of detecting them; and not unfrequently meeting associates as abandoned as themselves, they perished in the very snares which they had laid for others."—"The History of England," by John Lingard, D.D., vol. vi. p. 270. Dublin: 1874.

employed them, and of the ministers who gave them approbation and rewards.

At home all classes of people were constantly suspected of "working conjurations" to Her Majesty's evil and loss. The suspicions and superstitions which Dr. Dee had long ago fostered, had taken a deep root in the Queen's mind. Amongst others, Lord Paget, Sir George Hastings, and Sir Thomas Hanmer, were each believed to have thus plotted Her Majesty serious harm, and to have gone the round of the popular conjurors so as to work her some great personal mischief. The superstitions then existing on these subjects were, of course, degrading and disgusting; though no doubt they were founded on very solid facts. For witchcraft is as certainly a reality as it is a sin, and evil spirits, both active and potent, were most probably on the side of those who went about from place to place, invoking them and seeking their active aid. The devil and his angels are evidently quite ready to render their powerful and practical assistance to mankind, if it be only sought after with system, earnestness, and proper subservience and devotion. Protestantism, from Luther's time downwards,*

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* See Bossuet's "History of the Variations of the Protestant Religion," Book IV., chap. xvii.

seems to have received it abundantly. "Old Birtles, the great devell, Darnally the sorcerer, Maude Twogood enchantresse, the oulde Witch of Ramsbury, several other ould witches,"—as the record exactly describes them—well known and popular in their arts*—were all looked upon as the Queen's personal enemies; and it was feared that their greatly-dreaded services had been formally secured and paid for by her influential enemies.

When five out of the seven Catholic sacraments had been abolished, for henceforth two only were allowed in the New Church,—two of those abolished, viz. Unction at Confirmation, with its divine grace, and the Last Anointing for the Sick and Suffering, were more especially and most sorely missed by thousands. Baptism had, of course, made all those who had received it, true and undoubted heirs of other sacraments. When some of these were thus arbitrarily abolished, the faithful were by consequence deliberately robbed of their rightful inheritance. Many of the "recusants" examined in the North had long ago openly complained that poor Christian people had been thus defrauded of their rights. Some who "waxed bold" amid shouts of "No greasing!"

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* "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. clxxv. 90.

had in open court expostulated with Archbishop Sandys for having consented to abolish extreme unction. Dr. Thomas Vavasour was one of these. But His Grace in reply only characterized that sacrament as "a vain and filthy oiling by the Pope's crew," and enjoined upon the persons complaining to "shut their mouths without delay."

Wherever the Catholic Religion once known has been deliberately abolished,* there some form of superstition or another has almost invariably become current and popular. Astrology, witchcraft, necromancy, and spirit-seeking, were, under Queen Elizabeth, largely patronized. They exactly fitted into the new system where the gaps were large, and the spiritual wants numerous. And reasonably so. For man either looks upward or downward—to the Light of the World, and the unfallen spirits of His beautiful creation; or to the lost and unquiet spirits of darkness, malignant and merciless, ruled by the Prince of the powers of the air. The Court authorities set the fashion in these practices, and others followed them. The Queen had frequently consulted Dr.

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* See "Origines Protestanticæ: or, Suggestions for an Historical Inquiry into the Origin of the Protestant Religion." London: Longhurst.

Dee, since the occasion on which he fixed a lucky day for her coronation at Westminster; and, though they had had some misunderstandings, it seems perfectly clear that he had been promised a bishopric* in reward for his conjurations, ambiguous promises, flatteries, and predictions.

In 1590, one Ann Frank, Dee's nurse, as his Diary records, was certainly "possessed." On August 22nd he writes in his Diary that she "had long byn tempted by a wycked spirit, but this day it was evident now she was *possessed* of him." . . . Later on, that is upon August 26th, as he quaintly puts on record, "I anoynted (in the Name of Jesus) Ann Frank her brest with the holy oyle. Augst. 30th in the morning, she required to be anoynted [again], and I did very devowtly prepare myself and pray for virtue and powr and Christ His blessing of the oyle to the expulsion of the wycked; and then twyce anoynted [her]. The wickyd one did resest a while." But on Michaelmas-day, notwithstanding all his profane conjurations, consecrations, and invocations, the poor creature committed suicide by cutting her own throat.

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* The Lord Treasurer told him on Dec. 23, 1591, and he recorded it in his Diary that "the Quene would have me have something at this promotion of bishops at hand."

Dee by no means stood alone in his practice of these irregular and unlawful performances; on the contrary, in remote parsonage or secluded rectory-house, quite a race of similar conjurors rose up to fill the aching void which Protestantism had made in the human heart by turning people's attention to the dark side of the Unseen World. Many of these were ministers. They practised in secret, mumbling their invocations of the devil or his angels, drawing the mystic circle according to old rules, and plaintively asking the practical aid of some familiar spirit in their unhallowed and forbidden researches; and were generally left alone by the State Authorities, unless they made use of these their occult arts for political objects —sometimes the case. When this was believed, they were tracked out,* discovered, and punished, on the ground that to thus labour for the overthrow of their political opponents—to borrow a contemporary phrase—was "to stab them in the dark with the sword of an unseen spirit." Most

* In one of the "State Papers" is provided "Information touching certain men taken up in the parish of Edmonton for practising the art of witchcraft and conjuring; mystic articles found in their possession, with powders and ratsbane, which the parties that fled strewed in the way, disappointing the bloodhound thereby."—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. ccxxxiii., n. 72.

of the new bishops in their Visitation Articles, and subsequently in a Canon,* faithfully endeavoured to put down such black arts, which men of renown, like Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Blackstone the lawyer, believed to be undoubted realities.

In all great social changes and grave revolutions amongst the nations, the influence of the Unseen World is far more potent and direct than shallow sceptics and frivolous critics allow to be possible. Believing only in what they can see and handle,—the material things of the present life—the vision of such people is often as narrow and confused as the nonsensical jargon of which they are the purveyors, and not infrequently as distorted, perverse, and diabolical.

In the year 1593, Roderigo Lopez, a clever Portuguese Jew, who had been made a prisoner in one of the ships of the Armada, and had subsequently practised medicine in London; and who, because of his great and remarkable success, had been sometime previously sworn Physician of the Queen, was accused of privately meditating the death of Her Majesty, having offered to poison her, as it was asserted, for the sum of fifty thou-

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* See the seventy-second canon of those passed in 160$\frac{3}{4}$, as also "The Question of Witchcraft Debated," by John Wagstaffe. London: 1669; Second edition, 1671.

sand crowns. The copies of the letters preserved in the indictments are all most enigmatically worded, and in no way prove what the upholders of the charges endeavoured to maintain. The accusers, "intelligencers," and witnesses employed in the case were mostly unprincipled adventurers, persons of infamous character, and men whose arts of lying and dissimulation had long been patent and notorious—well-tested by their employers. Lopez himself admitted that he had occasionally received presents from the Spanish Court, at one time a jewel worth one hundred pounds; but denied that he had either said or done, or meant to do or say, anything prejudicial to the interests or person of the Queen. It was asserted likewise that he had pledged himself to burn the English fleet. He was put on his trial with two others, Ferreira and Louis, both Portuguese—whose confessions made upon the rack were of small moral value,—and Lopez and the others were all found guilty, but judgment was respited for three months. It was hoped that full information of the design, or supposed design, of the Spaniards might be obtained from them. Torture was used in the Tower, threats of worse tortures were uttered, mild starvation attempted. Their small allowance of food in prison—they appear to have been denied any drink for some days—might have broken the spirits and destroyed

the resolution of any one, even the bravest. In consequence of their having declined to say what was not true, or unjustly to inculpate the innocent, they were treated more cruelly than usual when the sentence was carried out; for the whole summer's day, June 7th, was spent in their execution. Brought from the Tower to London Bridge on foot, they were then taken in a barge to Westminster, where, though called upon as a matter of form to say what they might and could in their own defence, they were very soon browbeaten and silenced. Their mispronunciation of the English language was caricatured and laughed at. The populace, instructed by the authorities, howled and yelled at them whenever they appeared; so that, as one writer remarks, "the voices were like the barking of hunting-hounds at their fullest cry." At Westminster they were delivered to the Marshall of the Queen's Bench, who took them by water to Southwark Stairs, and so to the Marshalsea. At the southern foot of London Bridge they were given over to the Sheriffs of London, who had them placed on hurdles, and conveyed them to Leaden Hall (the residence of Lopez). Thence they were taken to Tybourne, followed by the accustomed rabble. There they were hanged for a very short time, but intentionally cut down alive. One of them, after this process, with the rope yet round his neck, in great

pain because of the twist and jerk he had received, recovering his feet, struggled for some time for his life. He struck out at the executioner boldly, and was applauded by the populace, who pressed forward through the guard of pikemen to see the encounter. Being a powerful man, the officer of death could neither remove his dress nor secure him efficiently. Two burly assistants, however, hastened forward to the executioner's aid. But the poor half-strangled wretch, gathering up all his strength in defence of the natural right to live, felled one of them to the ground with a single stroke, and it was some time before the condemned man could be secured. He was first stunned by a blow on the head and thrown on to the straw, his clothes being hastily pulled off. Then followed the accustomed barbarous mutilation—a bloody business indeed—and the frightful act of disembowelling a still-breathing mortal. But the legal butchers, with knife and hatchet and bared arms, closed in upon their suffering victims, whose blood flowed before the sun went down, and whose lives then soon ebbed away. So, after lingering over the horrors of the spot, the grinning rabble dispersed towards sunset. Thus the supposed enemies of the Queen were efficiently removed.

In the latter part of this reign, John Wolton was Bishop of Exeter from 1579 to 1594; Hugh Bellot was first made Bishop of Bangor in 1586,

but was subsequently removed to Chester in 1595, where he died in less than a year; Thomas Bickley was Bishop of Chichester from 1586 to 1596; John Still first filled the see of Bath in 1593; Anthony Watson was Bishop of Chichester in 1596. But these names and others on the vellum Registers are mere Christian and surnames, and nothing more. They proclaim nothing, they illustrate nothing. In fact they convey no idea of any sort or kind to nine persons out of ten; possibly not to one in a hundred. The exalted people who bore them, no doubt walked in the footsteps of Dr. Parker and his company, were appointed ministers, married, made themselves comfortable, preached Calvinism, carefully and confidently numbered themselves and their families amongst "the elect," flattered the Queen, and duly fleeced the sheep; grew old in the profitable process, and then in due course departed this mortal life.

Dr. John Whitgift, who had been appointed Bishop of Worcester as early as the year 1577, as we have seen, became the most prominent and able of the prelates of this period, possibly the only truly remarkable one of his day. Sprung from a respectable middle-class family of the West Riding of Yorkshire, his father Henry, a merchant of Grimsby, having married a Lincolnshire lady named Anne Dynewell, had six sons, of whom the future archbishop was the eldest. His uncle

Robert, his father's only brother, had been Abbot of Wellowe near Grimsby, but seems at an early period to have openly taken the side of the innovators, for he renounced his religious life, received a pension, and lived in the world. John Whitgift in due course went to Cambridge, where he had Jewell and Grindal for his tutors, who, of course, influenced him considerably. Having taken his M.A. degree in 1556, he was made Margaret Professor of Divinity ten years afterwards. In 1567 he was created D.D., having maintained in his public thesis for that honour—*Papa est ille Antichristus*,—a tolerably clear indication of his mental delusions and of the novel and ridiculous character of his theology. He was, by his own admission, an Erastian,* as all were in his day. In July of 1567, he was made Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he opposed Cartwright and the more fanatical Puritans, and in 1577 was appointed to succeed Bullingham in the See of Worcester. As filling that position he has already been referred to.

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* "If by 'the Head' you understand an external ruler and governor of any particular nation and church (in which signification head is generally taken) then I do not perceive why the magistrate may not as well be called the Head of the Church, that is the chief governor of it in the external policy, as he is called the head of the people and the Commonwealth." —"Defence of the Answer to the Admonition," p. 85. Whitgift's Works, vol. ii., Parker Society's Works, 1852.

It ought ever to be remembered to his credit, however, that he protested in the strongest and plainest terms to the Queen against the alienation of Church property. An absolute power had been recently given by Act of Parliament to the Crown, and the Queen had made Lord Leicester sole Commissioner. His lordship, like certain other of the peers of that period, owned somewhat inexact ideas of the difference between *meum* and *tuum*. But when criticized, he sheltered himself under the terms of his appointment. Whitgift, however, by his boldness, stemmed the tide of robbery with success, and, of course, made Lord Leicester his deadly enemy.

His Grace thus addressed the Queen :—

"Though you and myself were born in an age of frailties, when the primitive piety and the care of the Church's lands and immunities are much decayed ; yet, Madam, let me beg that you would first consider that there are such sins as profaneness and sacrilege"—two shocking forms of transgression, the existence of which the Queen had apparently quite forgotten,—"and that if there were not, they could not have names in Holy Writ, and particularly in the New Testament."

"I beg Posterity," he went on to remark, "to take notice of what is already become visible in many families, that Church land added to an an-

cient and just inheritance hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both; or like the eagle that stole a coal from the altar and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed both her young eagles and herself that stole it. And though I shall forbear to speak reproachfully of your father, yet I beg you to take notice that a part of the Church's rights, added to the vast treasure left him by his father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable consumption upon both, notwithstanding all his diligence to preserve them. And consider that after the violation of those laws, to which he had sworn, in *Magna Charta*, God did so far deny him His restraining grace, that as King Saul after he was forsaken of God fell from one sin to another, so he; till at last he fell into greater sins than I am willing to mention."

Archbishop Whitgift likewise endeavoured to stir up the indolent, passive, and common-place prelates under his jurisdiction to do their duty. The alarming Calvinism of some tended to exclude practically any, even a theoretical, consideration of the importance of good works—an unfortunate feature. It is evident from his own words that no one more accurately realized the frightful state of degradation into which, during the previous forty years, the national religion had sunk than the Archbishop himself. The

evil he beheld too clearly, and has most forcibly described. But how to remedy it was a perplexing and puzzling problem.

Many of the bishops were notoriously over-engrossed in things temporal, farming the property of their sees for their own personal advantage, or entering into private arrangements with the Queen's favourites to secure privileges and readier profits. In 1594 Dr. John Coldwell, Bishop of Salisbury, wrote to a friend at Court,* complaining of Sir Walter Raleigh's treatment of him. It seems that these two worthies, according to custom, had been together quietly making the most of the Church lands between themselves, and had quarrelled violently during the process. Twenty marks due to the Bishop had been seized by Raleigh, and yet he desired to have three more manors, Burton, Holmes, and Upcorne, but without paying any rent for them. The Bishop, who was not dull or indifferent to his own interests, could hardly have approved of such a proposition.

On the one hundred and eighty-first folio of His Grace's Register at Lambeth, is preserved a letter which was addressed by Archbishop Whitgift to

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* "Burghley State Papers," ed. W. Murdin, pp. 675, 676. "John Sarum to Mr. Henry Brook." London: 1759.

the bishops of his Province, enjoining them to see that children were catechized, taught and confirmed. The picture which this document indirectly draws is melancholy to contemplate. It harmonizes completely and perfectly with the records of neglect and apathy already referred to. From its perusal, the existence of the greatest and almost universal neglect of the rite of Confirmation is apparent. "I am very sorry to hear," are His Grace's exact words, "that my brethren the bishops of my Province of Canterbury do so generally begin to neglect to confirm children." *

Whitgift's complexion, to note personal characteristics, was very dark. The Queen admired him because he was self-denying, given to hospitality, and had remained a celibate. She notoriously preferred this state for the clergy, and "honoured him with the familiar name of 'her Black husband.'" † Although she was naturally nettled by his letter concerning the proposal for the confiscation of Church lands, yet, on reflection, she evidently admired his boldness, and regarded his most creditable expostulation with favour.

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* Whitgift's Register, folio 181, letter dated "From Croydon, the . . . of Sept. 1591."

† Preface to "A Godlie Sermon," &c. by Doctor Whitgift, republished by John Wyat at the Rose in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1714.

The bishops in His Grace's day appear to have had a hard lot sometimes. They were commonly called "limbs of Antichrist," and the "Bishops of the Devil," by the ultra-Puritan party, and Whitgift himself was politely styled the "Beelzebub of Canterbury," * "an ambitious wretch, sitting upon his cogging-stool which may be truly called the chair of pestilence." Though strongly tinctured with Erastianism, he was, however, a truly learned prelate, who had not only read much, but had well digested what he had read, and used it discreetly for his dialectical purposes. As regards episcopacy, and disputes concerning it, though much in advance of his contemporaries, most of whom in principle were rank and bitter Puritans, he maintained,—not that the order of episcopacy was of divine origin and institution, but that originally the Church no doubt had the right of determining how it should be governed; and argued that as it had determined to be governed by bishops, and not otherwise, such government ought to be maintained, consistently, however, with two independent conditions: first, the absolute and inherent rights of the Christian magistrate; and,

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* "A Dialogue, wherein is playnly laide open the Tyrannical Dealing of L. Bishopps against God's children."—No place nor date.

secondly, due soundness of doctrine,—though who was to be judge of this last (except himself) will not be discovered in his painful and laborious writings. Nor was it clear who, in his judgment, was to determine the nature and extent of the powers and rights of the Civil Magistrate.

However difficult for one whose official position cut him off from all relations with a higher ecclesiastical authority, it may have been to have enjoined duties *more antiquo* upon his inferior officers—for, of course, he appeared like a rebel preaching obedience; yet his intention was evidently less faulty than his logic, and no doubt he sincerely meant to do his duty. He it was—and all honour to him for it—who, with many shortcomings, first managed systematically to stem wilder and more outrageous innovations, and in some measure to turn the Puritan tide.

In the year 1595, amongst others, two priests suffered for treason, both of them being members of ancient or knightly Norfolk families. The first was Robert Southwell, the second Henry Walpole. Of each some brief account must be given.

1. Robert Southwell was the grandson of Sir Richard Southwell of Woodrising, who had lived in Henry VIII.'s reign, and had been one of the Visitors of the Norfolk monasteries, Master of the Ordnance, Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster, and

one of the executors of Henry's will. His father was Richard Southwell of Spixworth, and his mother, Alice, daughter of Sir Thomas Cornwallis. He was born at the Priory of Horsham St. Faith. He was educated first at Douay, then at Paris, where he came under the influence of Archdeacon Darbyshire,—one of the earliest English members of the Society of Jesus. Into this order young Southwell was admitted at the age of seventeen, on the 17th of October 1578. Six years afterwards he was ordained priest at Rome, and soon afterwards, in the summer of 1586,* came to England, where he found a home in the mansion of Philip, Earl of Arundel's lady. For six years, with great piety and discretion, winning admiration from many, he laboured in his Master's cause. His refinement and tenderness made him a great authority with many of exalted rank, and he was most successful in winning back a considerable number to the Ancient Faith. At the end of the period mentioned, having been betrayed by an unhappy woman named Ann Bellamy, at her own father's house,† he soon found himself in the safe

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* Some affirm that he came two years earlier; but for the date in the text there seems to be direct authority.

† See the London and Middlesex Archæological Society's "Transactions," vol. i. pp. 293–294.

keeping of Topcliffe, who, with his officers and servants, had surrounded the place and arrested the father.

He was tortured in the private torture-cell of this infamous persecutor, as both law and custom enjoined, no less than ten times, or, as Lord Burghley admitted, thirteen times; and this with such pitiless severity, that he openly declared to the judges that death would have been again and again preferable. The account of his fearful agonies is on record still, and to turn over the printed pages of it makes the eye dim and the heart sick. Anything more utterly revolting and merciless could scarcely be conceived. Its perusal makes one blush for the honour of humanity.

Others suffered with him. His account, in his own handwriting of what took place in another London prison, still exists, from which the following graphic extracts are taken:—

"A little while ago they apprehended two priests, who have suffered such cruel usages in the prison of Bridewell, as can scarce be believed. What was given them to eat was so little in quantity, and withal so filthy and nauseous, that the very sight of it was enough to turn their stomachs. The labours to which they obliged them were continual and immoderate, and no less in sickness than in health; for, with hard blows and stripes, they forced them to accomplish their task,

how weak soever they were. Their beds were dirty straw, and their prison most filthy.

"Some are there hung up, for whole days, by the hands, in such a manner that they can but just touch the ground with the tips of their toes. In fine, they that are kept in that prison, truly live *in lacu miseriæ et in luto fœcis*, Psalm xxxix. This purgatory we are looking for every hour, in which Topcliffe and Young, the two executioners of the Catholics, exercise all kinds of torments. But come what pleaseth God, we hope we shall be able to bear all *in Him that strengthens us*."

The cell in the Tower where Southwell himself was confined, was situated far below the ordinary water-mark of the Thames, and was consequently damp and musty. Sometimes it was a full foot deep in water. The only light admitted was through a narrow window high up above. He lay on rank and corrupt straw, in which vermin abounded; and was kept on very small allowances of food. The cell had only a stone seat in the wall, and there was no ventilation. He was not permitted to have any books, and no intercourse with the outer world.

When he had been confined there for some time, his father presented a petition to the Queen, asking "that if his son had committed anything for which by the laws he had deserved death, he might suffer death; if not, as he was a gentle-

man, he hoped Her Majesty would be pleased to order that he should be treated as a gentleman, and not be confined any longer to that filthy hole."

The Queen, to a certain extent, granted the prayer of this petition. He was consequently removed from the "filthy hole" to a better lodging. And his father received permission to supply him with common necessaries. He had asked only for two books, a copy of the Holy Scriptures and the works of St. Bernard. These he was permitted to receive.

After three long weary years of imprisonment, —thus punished before he was convicted,—he was brought to trial on his own special application. Lord Burghley, to whom he had written, somewhat brutally remarked that "if he was in such great haste to be hanged he should speedily have his desire." And so he had. For he was tried on one day and martyred* the next.

The indictment which clearly enough sets forth

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* "I care not to dwell any longer on this judicial murder. I pronounce it to be such; and it is the sorrow and shame of our common human nature and Christianity that both sides have like blood-wet pages. I must regard our worthy as a martyr in the deepest and grandest sense —a good man full of the Holy Ghost."—"The Complete Poems of Robert Southwell," edited by Rev. A. B. Grosart. Memorial Introduction, p. lxv. Privately printed, 1872.

the true nature of the so-called offence, ran thus :—

"The jury present, on the part of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, that Robert Southwell, late of London, clerk, born within this kingdom of England; to wit, since the Feast of St. John Baptist, in the first year of the reign of Her Majesty and before the first day of May, in the thirty-second year of the reign of Our Lady the Queen aforesaid, made and ordained priest by authority derived and pretended from the See of Rome, not having the fear of God before his eyes, and slighting the laws and statutes of this Realm of England, without any regard to the penalty therein contained, on the 20th day of June, the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Our Lady the Queen, at Uxenden, in the county of Middlesex, traitorously, and as a false traitor to Our said Lady the Queen, was and remained, contrary to the form of the statute in such a case set forth and provided, and contrary to the peace of Our said Lady the Queen, her crown and dignities."

A true bill having been found, Southwell appeared at the bar, and pleaded "Not guilty."

"I confess," he admitted, "that I was born in England. I admit that I am a subject of the Queen. I allow that by authority derived from God, and no State authority, I have been promoted to the Christian priesthood, for which I ever thank

and bless His divine majesty and goodness. I confess that I was at Uxenden, that I was betrayed and apprehended; but I emphatically deny that, either by word or deed, I ever entertained or plotted any plan or design against the Queen or her kingdom. In returning to my old home and country I had but one aim—to minister the sacraments to those who desired them according to the ancient rites."

He was not allowed to say more, and was soon brought in guilty.

He then begged God to have mercy on all who had been, or should be, accessory to his death.

Judge Popham pronounced the horrible sentence—it need not be again set forth in detail—in the usual terms.

Then Southwell was taken to Newgate, from whence, early on the morrow morning, February 21st, 1595, he was dragged on a hurdle to Tybourne.

As he was being drawn from Newgate to the place of execution, he bade farewell to a kinswoman who had come to greet him. The day was cold and wet, the sky leaden, and for some time a drizzling rain drove from the north-east. Yet here and there crowds had gathered to witness the "drawing," and a motley mass followed on either side, and behind, as the sufferer, jolted,

bruised, and shaken, lay with his face turned heavenwards in mental prayer.

On reaching Tybourne, and being unbound, Southwell wiped his face and mouth with a handkerchief, which he then threw to a member of his own society in the crowd, whom he had recognized.

Knife and caldron and hatchet had been all duly prepared. He was then placed in the cart under the gallows, round which was a litter of straw and a newly kindled fire. Having received permission to speak, he mildly maintained that he had never done, meant, nor intended any harm to Her Majesty, and expressed a hope regarding her that both body and soul might be saved by the mercy of the Most Highest.

Here he commended to God his poor afflicted country, which had been robbed of all the sacraments, except baptism and matrimony, praying that it might be led back again to a perfect insight into and understanding of God's Truth, and so be blessed once more in the spiritual order, and restored once again to Unity.

He acknowledged himself to be a Catholic Priest and a member of the Society of Jesus, and thanked Almighty God for these high favours.

The hangman then stripped him to his shirt, fastened the halter round his neck, and secured it afresh to the horizontal bar of the gibbet.

Hereupon a person, who turned out to be a minister, addressed him—"Mr. Southwell, explain yourself further. If your meaning be according to the Council of Trent, it is false and damnable."

"Good Master Minister," he replied, with great humility, "for God's sake leave me alone in this my extremity. I want no controversy now. I do not argue, I will not criticize. I believe. Note you that I die a Catholic, putting my whole trust and confidence in the Passion and Death of my Saviour. I desire no controversy."

He then asked the prayers of those near,—pressing forward to hear his words,—who were awed into silence and attention by his sweet words and most modest manner. His face, as some remarked and afterwards recorded, was as the face of an angel.

"*Sancta Maria, Mater Dei, et omni Sancti Dei, orate et intercedite pro me,*" he ejaculated. "God be merciful to me a sinner. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit!" and he then made the sacred sign on his breast several times.

Here the cart was drawn away. At this act the knot of the rope slipped round to the back of his neck, and, as an eyewitness* records, "he

* Concerning Southwell, see "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cxcv. 114; also the volume for 1586, 755;

remained hanging a good while, knocking his breast and making divers times the sign of the cross, turning his eyes up and down wide open."

One of the hangman's officers wished to have him cut down alive; but the people, intensely excited, cried out so furiously at the proposal, that Lord Mountjoy forbad it. On the other hand, a humane person, holding on to his legs, this sudden weight ended his sufferings. He thus yielded up his soul to God.

The sanguinary details which followed, already described, took place as usual. When, however, the dissevered head was lifted up by the hangman, no one cried "Traitor," nor did any voice say "Amen" to the accustomed form.

Some of the preachers were intensely impressed by what they had witnessed; while one nobleman exclaimed, "When I die, God grant that my soul may go where his soul has gone"; for the poor sufferer had died in the holiest of causes—a defence of the unchangeable Truth of God. He met death without fear, he was not only perfectly resigned, but he suffered with joy. During his lifetime he had long truly measured the World's vanities, and duly apprehended the

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Harl. MSS., Brit. Museum, No. 6998, folio 21; Lansdowne MSS. vols. lxxii. 39, and lxxiii. 47; "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. ccxxxv. 8.

crimes and follies of men. The ever-fresh consolations of the Faith, the majestic glories of the One Universal Church, the loving-mercy of God his Saviour, and the peace promised to those who endure, had often been the themes of his sweet and melodious verse. Grace had evidently descended like dew in his death-agony; and so he soon found the longed-for calm after the storm, and reached the haven where he would be.

Has it never occurred to the reader, when asking God to "remember not our offences nor the offences of our forefathers," that such atrocities as these—for which there were precedents under Nero and Caligula—cried, and perhaps still cry, to Heaven for vengeance; and that our miserable divisions, our sorrows, heart-sicknesses, and the evils of the present day may be a part of our nation's well-deserved punishment?

2. Henry Walpole was the eldest son of Christopher Walpole of Docking and Hanmer Hall in Norfolk, by Margaret, daughter of Richard Beckham of Narford. He was born in the last year of Queen Mary's reign. After receiving a good education, he proceeded to study the law, but witnessing the religious and political confusion which had been intensified by the change of religion, and after studying some of the current controversies, embraced the religion of his forefathers.

In 1582 he went to Rheims, where in the register-book of the college he is described as "*Vir discretus, gravis et pius.*" After some study he proceeded to Rome, and in 1584 entered the Society of Jesus. Subsequently, three of his younger brothers, Richard, Christopher, and Michael, followed his example. Having been ordained to the minor orders by Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1583, he was eventually made priest in Paris in 1588. For some time he had been in Spain, helping in the work of the two English colleges of Seville and Valladolid. He was always earnest, zealous, and brave, ever displaying a calm enthusiasm. In this respect he was not unlike others who had already suffered for conscience' sake. Of Walpole it is on record that he was "an English gentleman of birth and fortune, a man of exceptionally high culture, of great intellectual gifts, of deep and fervent enthusiasm, who had sacrificed everything that most men hold dearest for what he believed to be Divine Truth."

He came to England with the sole intention of labouring in defence of that Truth, on December 4th, 1593. Within twenty-four hours he was apprehended, examined by the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the North, and then by order of the Privy Council sent up to London. He was at once committed to the Tower, where he remained

for a year. What there took place is set forth in the following record :—

He "met in the Tower of London with the greatest misery and poverty, so that the Lieutenant himself, though otherwise a hard-hearted and barbarous man, was moved to inquire after some of the Father's relations; and told them that he was in great and extraordinary want, without bed, without clothes, without anything to cover him, and that at a season when the cold was most sharp and piercing; so that himself, though an enemy, out of pure compassion, had given him a little straw to sleep on.

"Besides this, the Father himself, in public court, upon occasion of answering some question that was put to him, declared *that he had been tortured fourteen times*, and it is very well known how cruel any one of those tortures is which are now in use. For it is a common thing to hang them up in the air six or seven hours by the hands, and, by means of certain irons, which hold their hands fast, and cut them, they shed much blood in the torture. The force of this torment may be gathered from what happened last Lent to a laic, called James Atkinson, whom they most cruelly tortured in this manner, to oblige him to accuse his own master, and other Catholics and priests; and kept him so long in torture, that he was at length taken away for dead after many

hours' suffering, and, in effect, died within two hours. Some time after they carried the Father back to York, to be there tried at the Midlent assizes.

"In all the journey he never went into bed, or even laid down upon a bed to rest himself after the fatigue of the day, but his sleep was upon the bare ground. When he came to York he was put into prison, where he waited many days for the judges' coming. In the prison he had nothing but one poor mat three feet long, on which he made his prayer upon his knees for a great part of the night; and when he slept it was upon the ground, leaning upon the same mat." *

Henry Walpole† was accused of three offences. Firstly, that he was a priest, ordained by the authority of the See of Rome; secondly, that he was a member of the Society of Jesus; and, thirdly, that he had returned to England to

* Letter translated from the Bishop of Tarrasona's "History," pp. 695, 696, dated 23rd of October 1595.

† For a most interesting and valuable life of Henry Walpole, the reader is referred to Dr. Jessopp's "One Generation of a Norfolk House," Second Edition, London, 1879, in which much research and singular impartiality are manifest throughout. It is a volume which is as interesting to the archæologian and genealogist as it is to the historian and divine; and could not be studied by any reader without both benefit and profit.

exercise the ordinary acts of these two callings, viz. to gain souls to God. Sergeant Saville was the prosecutor. The accused was tried by a jury before two judges, Francis Beamont and Matthew Ewens, with whom sat Lord Huntingdon, and Hillyard the Recorder of York; and made a spirited, forcible, and faithful defence. At times he was most opportune in his remarks, finding his education at Gray's Inn of much advantage, and was often brilliant in his comments; moreover, he compelled one of the Judges to admit that his sole offence was his refusal to acknowledge the Queen to be "Supreme in things Spiritual." He maintained that no earthly law, not in harmony with the Law of God could bind any Christian man's conscience; and that the due and proper submission to be paid to earthly princes must always be subordinate to that submission which the baptized directly owe to the Great King of Heaven and Earth. His own confessions obtained on the rack were read by the Clerk of the Court. But his own spoken words were not lost upon the spectators.

He was offered his discharge if he would make his submission, acknowledge the Queen's usurped authority, and comply with the terms of the recent statutes. But to this offer he turned a deaf ear. It was impossible. It could not be done.

The jury, having been consequently directed to find him guilty of the indictment did so with very little consideration or consultation amongst themselves. This took place on April 3rd, 1595; he was sentenced to death on the 5th, and he suffered on Monday the 7th. With him was drawn another priest, Alexander Rawlins, who had been tried and condemned on the 5th of the same month, a Worcestershire gentleman's son, who had been educated at Oxford, ordained priest at Soissons, and had laboured in England with much success for nearly five years.

On the Sunday these two men were subjected to the spite and annoyance of certain ministers and others, who persisted in plaguing them with Protestant controversy. Sir Edwin Sandys, a lay-prebendary of York, not a minister, and Dr. George Higgens, Prebendary of Southwell, were the chief disputants. Sandys, who took up the "Gospel doctrine of justification," and "the supposed dignity of Peter's chair," preached for an hour and a quarter. The other man dealt with the subject of Elizabeth's supremacy. Walpole, who readily apprehended their sophistries, condescended to answer both, for many spectators had gathered for the encounter. On these his speech made a great impression.

On the following morning Rawlins suffered first, most bravely, without quailing or flinching—Wal-

pole being a witness of all the sanguinary cruelties. Walpole's turn soon came. And he was prepared for it. He, too, died calmly, with the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* on his lips, and thus his righteous soul passed into the keeping of God,—a noble member of the Society of Jesus.

The Benedictines, as we know, had originally converted our country in Saxon times, and the impress of their glorious order is even now almost indelibly stamped on the sacred but desolated fanes of the land. Under Henry VIII. the devoted and saintly sons of St. Francis were found bold in their protest against sacrilege, and faithful even unto death. But persecution having done its work, and confiscation having wrought out so much ruin, it was reserved for the devoted sons of St. Ignatius (who had himself written to Cardinal Pole* of his desire to serve the souls in England), like Southwell and Walpole, to whose sufferings reference has just been made, to stand in the breach, to be self-sacrificing and devoted, even to court the confessor's sufferings and the martyr's crown.

A few other facts are worthy of note. In 1595 Whitgift had attempted to impose what are

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* Epist. Card. Poli. v. 119.

known as the "Lambeth Articles,"* on the two Provinces. They were approved by many of the bishops and ministers; for being thoroughly Calvinistic, and Calvinism being in the ascendant, the proposed formularies were certainly popular. At that time any other kind of theology was unknown. But the Queen, whose duty it was to govern the Church, as she well knew and often remarked, having consulted some shrewd and worldly-wise laymen and lawyers—whom the Calvinists had troubled,—would not allow these Articles to be accepted.

Two years afterwards the Queen's general pardon† was granted for "all offences committed or done against the ecclesiastical state or government established in this realm, or any heresy or schism whatsoever." The strong comments made abroad possibly led to this. For of all the horrors which had been perpetrated for religion and conscience' sake, foreigners had received a true and plain-spoken account from the publications of exiled Catholics. This pardon, like others, was to be "construed most beneficially for the subjects"; but the list of special cases and exceptions

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* They were afterwards brought forward at the Hampton Court conference, but rejected. The Protestant Church in Ireland accepted them in 1615.

† 40 Elizabeth, c. xxviii.

was so considerable that scarcely any offender, or supposed offender, could by any possibility have profited by it.

Sir John Harington, a most observant onlooker and a graphic writer, thus describes a dinner-party which was held towards the close of the Queen's reign. It is, for several reasons, so interesting, that it is here given without omission or amendment :—

"I was honourede at dinner with the Archbishoppe & several of the Churche pastors, where I did finde more corporeal than spiritual refreshmente; and though oure ill state at cowrte maie, in some sorte, overcaste the countenance of these apostolical messengers; yet were some of them well anointed with the oyl of gladnesse of Tuesdaie paste. Hereof thou shalt in some sorte partake. My Lorde of Salisburie had seizen his tenantes corne and haye, with sundrie husbandrie matters, for matters of money due to his lordshippe's estate: hereat the aggrievede manne made suite to the bishoppe and requestede longer time and restitution of his goodes :—'Go, go, (saithe the bishoppe) I heare ill reporte of thie livinge, and thou canst not crave mercie; thou comeste not to Churche service, and haste not receivede confirmation; I commande thee to attend my ordinance and be confirmed in thy faithe at Easter nexte cominge.' 'I crave your

lordshippes forgivenesse, (quothe the manne,) in goode soothe I durste not come there, for as youre lordshippe hathe lain your hande on all my goodes, I thinke it full meete to take care of my heade!' Suche was parte of our discourse at dinner. So . . . although the bishoppes hande was heavy, oure pesantes head was not weake, and his lordshippe said he woude forego his payment." *

Some personal account of the Queen, in order that the character of one who left so marked an impress on the Established Church, may be apprehended, must now be given. There are those who look upon her as a great political light, others as a "bright occidental star" in the orbit of religion; while some might hesitate to bestow such praise as many partizan historians have so unstintedly rendered, and yet own an exceedingly inadequate idea of her varied characteristics and true character. From no single aspect could a just and impartial judgment be passed. It is necessary, therefore, to take more than a single standing-point in judging her fairly.

Queen Elizabeth was learned both in sacred and profane literature, and this learning was recognized and acknowledged by competent judges both at home and abroad. She wrote a firm and beau-

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* Sir John Harington's "Letters," p. 323.

tiful hand; was skilful in composition, and frequently expressed herself in her mother tongue with as much grace as vigour. The foreign ambassadors were often struck by a display of her cultivated powers, as well as by her tact in action and her undoubted charm of conversation. She could reply in Latin to a formal address, and was often extremely happy in her apt quotations from classical authors. Like her father, of great natural abilities, she was proud of her theological acumen, and sometimes thought fit to set right her astonished prelates and divines by quoting some patristic aphorism or cleverly-selected text of Scripture; or by perceiving a weak place in their ponderous homiletic arguments, into which, with no mercy, she pointedly and promptly thrust a sharp dialectical dart. With a Calvinistic bishop Her Highness was strongly anti-Calvinistic; with any one who had a tendency to favour the "old learning," she became for the nonce both destructive and revolutionary, or even rigidly Calvinistic, in her logical conclusions. An easy-going, obedient, and good-tempered man, like her godson, Henry Cotton,* however, was sure to be favoured,

* Of this prelate, who was made Bishop of Salisbury, Sir John Harington thus wrote:—"She had blessed many of her godsons, but now this godson should bless her. Whether she were the better for his blessing, I know not; but I am sure he was the better for hers. He married, very young, a

if he never crossed her wishes nor thwarted her will.

The language of flattery used by her favourites and attendants was so fantastic and extravagant, that it became almost always absurd and gross—so that maids-of-honour smiled sometimes in the background, or listless and yawning male idlers grinned or giggled. But nothing could be too gross for Her Highness's greedy acceptance. The greater the extravagance of the compliment, the more favourably it was received. Those at Court who were incapable of paying compliments and originating high-sounding and laudatory phrases, remained in the background, without either smiles, favours, or promotion.

Her unbounded vanity, in truth, often rendered her the laughing-stock of the more acute courtiers, who ridiculed her heartily because of it. Nothing pleased her better, or won her favour more surely, than profuse admiration of her person and verbosely elaborate laudation of her natural graces;—both of which it was found positively necessary to use with unstinted generosity, by those ambitious adventurers who so anxiously

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woman whose name was Patience, and she brought him no less than nineteen children."—"Brief View of the State of the Church," pp. 95, 96. London: 1653.

sought to rise to power and influence in the State. When the graces of youth and middle age were steadily fading away, when the lines of her face were deepening and natural feebleness supervened, when her dressers had to truss her with care, and support her jewel-bedecked body with artificial appliances, she was more exacting of her admirers of the other sex than she had ever been before; while the least tokens of wavering on their part in their accustomed phrases of admiration, both merited and secured her certain and severest displeasure. To question her perfect grace and beauty, even as an old woman, when her bust had shrunk and her neck had become sinewy and yellow, was an unpardonable sin.

She was likewise singularly irresolute. On subjects of great as well as of small moment, matters of State as well as of personal fancy, she could never make up her mind. From all sources, high as well as low, influential as well as the reverse, from maids-in-waiting as well as from ministers, she was accustomed to ask advice and counsel, but was altogether unable and unwilling to take it when offered. Ever deliberating, balancing this consideration with the other, and delighting in so doing, she found it most difficult to come to a conclusion and decision on any subject, trivial or important; so much so that this habitual irresolution caused the greatest trouble

and vexation to her ministers, as Cecil often cautiously noted in his written record of events. The Queen's mind, as Sir Thomas Smith remarked in a letter to the Lord Treasurer, was "sometimes so, sometimes no; and in all times uncertain and ready to stays and revocation." "It makes me weary of my life," he went on to declare most piteously,—"I can neither get the other letters signed, nor the letters already signed permitted to be sent away; but, day by day, and hour by hour, deferred till anon, soon and to-morrow." * The same, too, was more especially the case with Lord Burghley later on,† who wished his body had been made of iron or steel, so worried was he when he grew old.

At times her language was so coarse and unchaste‡ that foreign attendants on the ambassadors, who sometimes accidentally heard it, were paralyzed with astonishment. She rated both Houses of Parliament in such terms as a slave-

* See "Sir Thomas Smith to Lord Burghley," the 6th of March 1574, in Strype's "Life of Sir T. Smith," p. 139.

† Lord Burghley, writing to Walsingham, asked if he should attend at Court morning or evening, according to the tide. He wishes his body were of iron or steel, for with flesh and blood he cannot long endure.—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cxc. 37.

‡ In a MS. "Memoria Mortuorum" which Cecil had made, the following questionable entry occurs:—"1558. 17 Nov. Maria Regina Angl. obiit, cui successit Eliz: *semper Virgo*." —"State Papers," Murdin, p. 745. London: 1759.

driver might use to his slaves; she was often insolent to, and domineering over, her obsequious spiritual officers the bishops; abusing them with unwomanly violence, or silencing them with a vigorous and sometimes a frightful oath.* "Hedge-priest" was the scornful term she frequently applied to the obsequious but astonished new ministers. Their elaborate and painful preaching she characterized as "noisome babbling," occasionally telling the more stupid, or the prosy, or the over-fanatical, to come down from the pulpit and to "cease that useless noise." "Babble no longer, Master Dean," she once called out to Nowell, the chief officer of St. Paul's Cathedral, who was preaching. Though, on one occasion, she had condescended to be entertained at Lambeth Palace, and to accept Archbishop Parker's munificent hospitality and valuable presents, she pointedly insulted his wife in her husband's domain and presence, with unnecessary sentences of epigrammatic spite†; while Her High-

* Her usual oaths, varied a little in form, were, "By the Death of God," "By God's Passion," "By God's Blood," or "By God's Wounds." When she was unusually excited, such formed the opening or close of almost every incoherent sentence.

† "You, Madam," she exclaimed, "who and what are you? *Madam* I may not call you; *Mistress* I am ashamed to call you; '*Lady*' I will not call you; but whatever you be, or think yourself to be, I thank you for your hospitality." See

ness, on another occasion, irritated by his wit, was not above chastising an offending courtier by giving him a sharp box on the ear.

If her courtiers and flatterers spoke the truth, which is by no means certain was always the case, their mistress was a paragon of virtue, piety, and beauty. Though certainly not beautiful, her complexion was undoubtedly fair, her nose aquiline, her hair fine and yellow. Her teeth, too, were of the same colour. To judge from the numerous portraits existing, her arched eyebrows, like her lips, were thin and pale, her neck was long and scraggy; but, until she passed the age of fifty, her figure was tall and her general bearing stately. Her hands were thin, delicate, and white. So well-formed and graceful did she regard her own calf and ankle, that, coyly lifting her kirtle, she occasionally condescended to exhibit her royal legs for the admiration of her favoured courtiers or the most exalted representatives of foreign monarchs.* For such favours she expected in

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also Strype's "Life of Matthew Parker," *in loco.* On another occasion, "When one of her chaplains, Mr. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, had spoke less reverently, in a sermon preached before her, of the sign of the cross, she called aloud to him from her closet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digression and return unto the text."—Dr. Peter Heylyn's "History of the Reformation," p. 124.

* "The Duke of Nevers was honourably entertained by Her Majesty; she danced with him and courted him in the

return a cluster of admiring adjectives in a set speech or an improptu epigram on the perfect form of the limbs in question; or else an embellished compliment upon her remarkable grace of motion and her acknowledged capacities for dancing with agility. Furthermore, she had such an excellent idea of the unflecked brilliancy of her complexion, that she would never allow Nicholas Hilliard, the royal miniaturist, to make any, even the faintest, shadows whatsoever in her portraits.* Contrasts to bring out the obvious projection of the nose, or the natural rotundity of the chin and cheeks, were strictly forbidden by royal command. Her complexion, in Her Highness' judgment, was so pure and good that only white paint could represent it. Hence the

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best manner; he, on the other side, using many compliments, as kissing her hand, yea and foot, when she showed him her leg."—Von Raumer, vol. ii. p. 180.

* This may be abundantly seen from an inspection of several miniatures belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch, K.G., which were exhibited at the Royal Academy in the spring of 1879, *e.g.* Case F., Nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 19, 23, and 24—all representing Queen Elizabeth—with the exception of No. 8, all being from the pencil of Nicholas Hilliard. Some of the other miniatures of this successful artist,—notably his own and his wife's portraits, as well as that of Lady Arabella Stuart,—are less flat and more artistic. A large oil-painting at Dytchley, Oxon., which the Queen herself gave to Sir Henry Lee, K.G., shows that other and more ambitious portrait-painters were likewise obliged to avoid the making of shadows on representations of her royal face.

existing portraits of her are invariably as flat and colourless as Chinese paintings, and very often as uninteresting and unattractive.

Even the bloody statute of Elizabeth's twenty-seventh year, after it had been in operation for eighteen long and weary years, at the close of her life, could not utterly root out the Ancient Faith. The maintainers of this, though hated of all men for Christ's sake, endured nobly even unto the end. Such, at least, was the case with many. Avoiding the old churches, rifled and bare, which they looked upon as desecrated and degraded anew by the Calvinistic rites and homiletic orgies performed in them; regarding the new bishops as State superintendents—"the Queen's wedded superintendents," as they were termed—and looking upon the successors of the ancient priests as mere ministers, they sought none of their aid, but passed them by with contumely and scorn. Into some of the benefices tailors and tinkers, who had heartily adopted Calvinism as a religion, had been long previously thrust by Protestant patrons and duly inducted by the bishops.* Whether

* "Many of those who were presented to the livings in private patronage were mere laymen; and there is room, therefore, for us to believe that what have been thought insults done to the Blessed Sacrament, were really only the trampling under foot of that which really was what these fanatics be-

such persons were ordained by any visible act seems exceedingly doubtful. For with such sectaries "the outpouring of the Spirit" manifested in wild reasoning and tortuous talk, was the only needful ordination; while, as to the receipt and possession of this self-selected gift, the preachers themselves regarded their own convictions and testimony on this point as far superior to any "greasing or patting of pates," as some amongst them so profanely phrased it. The fonts where of old the people's ancestors had received the washing of regeneration, were unfilled and unconsecrated; and so baptism was consequently sought in secret and solitary places, the glade or the moor, away from human habitation; where by appointment true priests met them to shed the grace of regeneration or unite the faithful in the marriage bond. In Yorkshire,* for example, Squire Cholmley, of Branderby, and a daughter of the knightly house of Hungate of Saxton, in the presence of four trusty witnesses, as the existing record narrates, "were married by a Popish priest in a fell." The mansions of each family had, no

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lieved it to be—mere Bread and Wine."—"The Reformation and the Prayer Book," by Nicholas Pocock, M.A., p. 38. London: 1875.

* A list of the Roman Catholics in the county of York in 1604. Transcribed from the original MS. in the Bodleian, and edited by Edward Peacock, F.S.A., p. 121. London: 1872.

doubt, long been carefully watched by spy and pursuivant. So the company in question went out with some trusted priest, at the risk of his liberty and life, to some secluded spot on the wild moorlands, and there under the canopy of Heaven the sacrament was ministered and God's blessing asked on the happy union.

In the Northern Counties, it is certain from existing MSS.—"Lists" of so-called "Recusants"—that from ten to fifty persons in every village openly stood apart from the New Religion, while hundreds secretly disliked and despised it. Though disputes were popular in that restless period, and controversy all the rage, yet a sturdy and honourable number of all classes were thoroughly true to the Faith of their Fathers. Bribes could not win them to error, nor persecution daunt their unshaken resolution to maintain the cause of Truth.

Early in January 1601, Orsini, Duke of Graciano, arrived in London upon a courtly mission. He was a young and handsome nobleman, and the Italian merchants received and feasted him sumptuously. A certain Alderman Radcliffe housed and entertained him. The poor Queen, trembling and wrinkled, who had then passed her sixty-seventh year,—and who went into a paroxysm of fury if any one even indirectly hinted at mortal sickness, death, or the grave,—was care-

fully and painfully prepared by her dressers and maids-in-waiting, for the work of receiving the Duke; upon whom she evidently desired to make a deep impression, which no doubt she did. A stomacher set with pearls, diamonds, and gold embroidery, was brought out of her well-stocked wardrobe-house,* and in this, over a laced chemise, the infirm body of Her Highness was carefully encased. Her petticoat, rich with open pomegranates embroidered in gold thread, was at once stiff and gorgeous. She wore a pair of the newest, and then still rare, pink silk stockings; a huge frill, studded with pearls, and made to stand up and stick out by means of gold wire, was placed round her long neck. Jewels in profusion, pendent and fastened, emeralds, diamonds, and sapphires, were everywhere displayed upon her person; and, after having been carefully painted, trussed, and scented, and then allowed to repose for awhile, (as well as might be, in such a fatiguing costume,)

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* "One Sunday (April last) my lorde of London [Aylmer] preachede to the Queene's Majestie, and semede to touch on the vanitie of deckinge the bodie too finely. Her Majestie tolde the ladies that 'if the bishope helde more discorse on suche matters, she wolde fitte him for heaven, but he shoulde walke thither withoute a staffe, and leave his mantle behind him.' Perchance the bishope hathe never soughte Her Highnesse wardrobe, or he woulde have chosen another texte."—Sir John Harington's "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 170.

she announced herself as ready to receive the Duke. This was done with exceptional state and dignity, Her Highness supporting herself when she rose from her chair of state with an ivory walking-stick, inlaid with gold and ornamented with rubies and brilliants.

"The Queen," as may be read in an original letter, "hath been pleased to have many pleasant discourses with him, and to dance before him; and he, as a well-experienced courtier, knew [how] to make show of admiring herself as most excellent and her actions as incomparable." * But by this time amusement began to pall upon her, and she was losing her appetite.†

To show the Duke that she had not cut herself entirely off from the Christian Religion, the Queen

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* Author's Original MSS. and Excerpts.

† "Her Majestie enquirede of some matters I had written; and as she was pleasede to note my fancifulle braine, I was not unheedfull to feed her humoure, and reade some verses, whereat she smilede once, and was pleasede to saie, 'When thou doste feele creepinge tyme at thye gate, these fooleries will please thee lesse; I am paste my relish for suche matters: thou seeste my bodilie meate doth not suite me well; I have tasted but one ill tastede cake since yesternighte.' She rated most grievouslie, at noone, at some who minded not to bringe uppe certaine matters of accounte. Several menne hath been sente to, and when readie at hande, Her Highnesse hathe dismissed in anger; but who, dearest Mall, shall saye 'Youre Highnesse hathe forgotten.'"—"Harington's Letters," vol. i. p. 323.

"invited him to go with her to her closet over the chapel, having before given order that the Communion-table should be adorned with basin and ewer of gold and evening tapers, and other ornaments, some say also with a crucifix, and that all the ministry should be in rich copes. The Duke [out] of curiosity, accompanied her, and she was very pleasant thereat, saying she would write to the Pope, not to chide him for that fact."

At the close of her life,—a close now slowly drawing on,—surveying the religious devastation which had been created at home, and the frightful divisions which had resulted from the "reforms" effected;—knowing, too, the misery and dissatisfaction which existed amongst the poor,—the Queen was anxious to show to this foreign nobleman that she was not so bad as she had been painted by certain foreign enemies; and that the new National Church which had been set up, as regards the taste and wishes of its Supreme Governess,* owned certain external features in

* The best defence of this office in the Christian Church, or perhaps in a national Church, which the author has lighted upon is the following from the pen of Dr. Heylyn. But bad is the best:—"For that an abbess may be capable of all and all manner of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, even to the denouncing of that dreadful sentence of excommunication; and that they may lawfully exercise the same upon all

common with the Church of the Nicene Creed, born on the first Pentecost, that is with the Church of the living God.

The weakness and paralysis of old age were in Her Majesty now more marked than ever, while sometimes rheumatic pains in her left arm and

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such as live within the verge of their authority, is commonly acknowledged by their greatest canonists. First for Suspension; it is affirmed by their Glosse that an abbess may suspend such clerks as are subject to her, both from their benefice and office. And, questionless, either to suspend a clerk or to bring his church under the sentence of an interdict, is one of the chief parts of ecclesiastical and spiritual censures. Nor have they this authority only by way of delegation from the Pope in some certain cases, as is affirmed by Aquinas, Durandus, Sylvester, Dominicus Soto, and many other of their schoolmen, but in an ordinary way as properly and personally invested them, which is the general opinion of their greatest canonists. Next for the Sacraments; it is sufficiently known that the ministration of baptism is performed by midwives, and many other women, as of common course; not only as a thing connived at in extreme necessity, but as a necessary duty, in which they are to be instructed against all emergencies by their parish priests; for which we have the testimony of the late Lord Legate in the Articles published by him for his visitation. And finally for Excommunication; it is affirmed by Palladanus and Navarre (none of the meanest in the pack) that the Pope may grant that power to a woman also: higher than which there can be none exercised in the Church by the sons of men. And if a Pope may grant these powers unto a woman, as to a prioress or abbess, or to any other, there can be, then, no incapacity in the sex for exercising any part of that jurisdiction which was restored unto the Crown by this Act of Parliament."—"The History of Queen Elizabeth," by Peter Heylyn, p. 109. London: 1671.

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left side were so trying and unbearable, that she was obliged for very suffering to call in the aid of some "cunning bone-setter or surgeon." * The most distant hint from such an one as to natural decay or reasonable infirmity being the direct cause of her increasing ailments, insured Her Highness's sore displeasure. Storming and fretting, as was her wont, she ordered a physician out of her presence, merely because he had ventured to imply that an old lady of nearly seventy years of age could not expect to be as hale and nimble as a girl of eighteen.

For now her cheeks were shrivelled and had fallen in; but when she appeared in public she

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* "The Court hath been at Richmond these twelve days, but the Queen in many humours to have removed to Greenwich, by reason of an ache in one of her arms, expecting more ease by change of air. A cunning bone-setter or surgeon had lately a sight hereof; he said it was a wind with a cold rheumatic humour settled there, and to be removed by rubbing and applying of wet oils and ointments. Her Majesty told him he was mistaken, for that her blood and constitution were of its nature very hot. He replied that neither flesh nor blood in that part made any show thereof, but much more the contrary; whereat she was exceedingly displeased, commanding him from her presence, she being most impatient to hear of any decay in herself, and thereupon will admit no help of physic or surgery, fretting and storming when she feeleth any little pain, and sometimes retiring herself from all access for three or four hours together."—"State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cclxxxvii. 50.

managed somehow to have them filled inside with pads or folds of linen cloth,* so that they might appear to the sightseers unshrunken and full; while pink and white paint was artfully laid upon her face and breast in several coats or layers.† But all to no purpose or effect. Neither paint, nor fine clothes, nor false flattery, nor rich jewels, could stave off the advent of the last enemy. The inevitable end was drawing on, her "frolicksomeness" was artificial and strained; when over-frolicksome she stumbled sometimes, or fell heavily upon a couch, wounded in hip-bone or elbow-joint, and was unable to get up again; and physical weakness was steadily increasing. The evening of life was surely nearing and closing in; the day of retribution was about to dawn.

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* "The ache of the Queen's arm is fallen into her side, but she is still, thanks to God, frolicky and merry. Only her face showeth some decay, which to conceal when she cometh in public, she putteth many fine cloths into her mouth to bear out her cheeks; and sometimes as she is walking she will put off her petticoat, as seeming too hot, when others shake with cold."—From Anthony Rivers, dated 17th of March 1602, from Venice, and signed "Giacomo Creleto." "State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth," vol. cclxxxvii.

† "It was commonly observed this Christmas (A.D. 160½) that Her Majesty, when she came to be seen, was continually painted, not only all over her face, but her very neck and breast also, and that the same was in some places near half an inch thick."—Anthony Rivers to Robert Parsons, dated, London, 13th of January 160½. Stonyhurst MSS., Anglia, vol. iii.

It is not an uncommon belief, that when old people approach their latter end—no matter how dulled their hearing may have become or how imperfect their sight—they not only realize again all the details of the past (like a drowning person), but sometimes begin to see glimpses of the World beyond the grave, with a vividness which mere words all too inadequately depict. Judging by the testimony of astonished on-lookers, such was the case with this perturbed and wretched woman in her latest days. The Past was dark indeed. Gazing, but not seeing, she sat for hours with glazing eyes, staring into vacancy. Occasionally she drew a long sigh and shuddered visibly. The least sound annoyed her. Her irritability was excessive and most disquieting to all those who were in attendance.

The poor creature, as her end drew nearer, became more and more disturbed—as her now drawn and wizen features too truly demonstrated. She had long suspected every one near her, and did not hesitate to declare, in deep bitterness of spirit, that all her former friends were turning their eyes from the setting to the rising sun. It was no wonder that they did so. For the spectacle they might have witnessed in the oak-pannelled chamber of Richmond Palace was certainly distressing and terrible to contemplate. The thread of her existence was being gradually at-

tenuated. Sleep had fled from her. Throughout the long winter nights her sighs and groans had been painful to listen to. She turned from side to side constantly. Sometimes the flickering of a lamp or the flaring fire-light made strange shadows on the arras; or the smouldering logs fell suddenly on to the hearth from the brazen dog-irons with a noise, and then she started up in bed harassed and terrified anew as if by the presence of unquiet spirits. When the wind sighed round the palace eaves, or made the loose-fitting lattices rattle, her disturbed imagination drew dark and dreadful pictures.

Her friend, the Countess of Nottingham, had recently died, and this greatly troubled the Queen. It carried her in thought to the very edge of an open grave—which she hated and feared more than any other object.

In March of the year 1602, the symptoms of declining powers were more than ever evident. Her physicians saw that the end could not be far off, and by their words implied as much.

From this time the Lord Admiral, the Lord Keeper, Sir Robert Cecil, and one of the Secretaries, remained constantly at Richmond, and were duly informed of her state.

On one occasion, for two days and three nights she sat huddled up on a stool, partly dressed,

and propped up by pillows, and no one could persuade her either to move or to go to bed. Whitgift proposed to "read a Scripture and to pray," but she ordered him to desist and make no disturbance. What a spectacle it was! When the artificial hair and the paint and the puffs and the paddings were absent, she seemed but a shrivelled and yellow old woman, possessed by some demon of obstinacy. Her lank forefinger was often placed for hours upon her thin lips, her eyes resting on the ground. A shudder now and then passed through her wrecked frame. Her toothless gums spasmodically chattered. She refused all food and often declined to open her pursed-up and parched lips at all.

From Lord Howard she once consented to receive a basin of broth, of which she took a portion. But, when he urged her to return to bed, she replied that if he himself had seen what she had beheld as she lay there, he would never have made such a request.

When, however, possibly to humour her fancies, Sir Robert Cecil, Burghley's son, asked her with some earnest anxiety whether she had not seen spirits gliding by, she replied that his question was idle and quite beneath her notice. "Perhaps she had, perhaps she had not."

When, in company with others, he implored her to take rest, saying, "Your Majesty must go

to bed to satisfy your loving subjects," she stared with astonishment.

"Must!" she exclaimed, in feeble and broken accents, but with effort,—"is 'must' a word to be addressed to princes? By God, little man, if your father had been alive he durst not have used such a word to Us. But ye have all grown daringly presumptuous, because you know that I shall die. Away with ye, each one. Be off."

They retired, all but Lord Nottingham, whom she begged to stay, and who induced her to take to her bed at last, where she lay for a fortnight. "My lord," she once said, "I am tied with an iron collar round my neck. I have none whom I can trust. I am forsaken by all and left alone. I have no hope. All my affairs are changed."

Such indeed and in truth was the fact, and in that final plight, lapsing into insensibility and so remaining for several days, her spirit passed away. On the 24th of March 1602, she died at two o'clock in the morning.

In the World's judgment—a judgment sometimes reversed—she was the greatest and most renowned of the rulers of England. Her temporal success, her victorious wars, and her determined policy had made this country more potent than heretofore. Posterity, it is assumed, has ratified the judgment of the World.

We may well ask ourselves, calmly, some centu-

ries after her day, in what this woman's so called "glory" and "glorious reign" had consisted? Numerous treaties and solemn compacts with other sovereigns were notoriously broken, to the scandal of diplomacy and the shame of her diplomatists. Some of her naval officers were little better than pirates and adventurers. She was frequently found assisting the rebellious subjects of neighbouring kings, by money, arms, and moral influence—thus, at her advisers' suggestion, committing the kingdom and the helpless people who comprised it, to an acceptance of anti-Christian principles. These still energize. While many of the nation's greatest and most pressing social evils and political dangers obviously date from Elizabeth's reign. From that day to this confusion has never been absent, and discord has never been banished. While, after all the reforms and changes continually effected, change is still desired and fresh reforms are constantly planned.

It has now been shown in the present Historical Sketch, by what method the changes of Queen Elizabeth's reign were brought about. Force constantly triumphed over conscience and Right. How the faithful were robbed of their spiritual privileges and graces — privileges, rights, and graces bequeathed at His Ascension by Our Divine Lord to all the baptized of every subse-

quent age,—how, from the ranks of those who systematically resisted change, a crowd of martyrs* were sent up to their well-won rest and glory,—is here faithfully sketched and recorded. Nothing has been set down in malice. For Charity ever forbids the raking-up of needless scandals, and therefore none which were needless to be known *have* been raked up in these pages. Some, unearthed from their obscurity, have been allowed to rest again unnoticed. Only those have been lightly touched upon, however, which seemed necessary to enable historical truths to be rightly apprehended, and the true position of the Established Church under Elizabeth to be realized.

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* The author of an article on "The Elizabethan Martyrs," in the "Church Quarterly Review" for April 1879 (pp. 98–125) asserts most confidently that "it is well and just to remember that the Church of England, as a Church, had no complicity with Elizabeth and the Privy Council in this miserable business" of hanging and quartering priests. The author of it is evidently unacquainted with the doings of Pilkington, Sandys, Chaderton, Aylmer, Cowper, and others—all of whom were cruel and tormenting persecutors. The expression "as a Church" is ambiguous: it is quite true, of course, that no synodical action enjoined the use of torture or sanctioned the cruelties practised, but some of the rulers of the new institution were members of the Council, and others were certainly active in punishing its conscientious opponents who clung to the ancient Faith; and in almost every diocese the bishops led the way in these cruelties. Moreover, no prelate ever protested against them.

What it is, and where it stands now, we all know too well. Its position, in regard to the domination of the State or Public Opinion, is far more abject than that of the contemporary Established community in Scotland, which notoriously owns much greater freedom and independence.

Where is the statesman, for instance, who does not maintain the absolute right of Parliament—wholly independent of the spiritualty—to regulate the affairs of the Church of England equally with the internal arrangements and actual working of the Post Office or the School Board? Where is the bishop who actually and practically adopts, or dreams of adopting, any other principle than that embodied in the precedented and venerable Oath of Homage? Where, then, can be found the reasonably-instructed person who, if not an Erastian, does not, as a consequence of realizing this fact, feel keenly the moral degradation involved in accepting such a position? According to one great authority,* however, Englishmen can no more

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* The Editor of the "Guardian" (June 18th, 1879) specially called the attention of two clergymen to the exact question at issue, thus:—"Canon Carter and Mr. Berdmore Compton, if they think the matter out, will find that they *can no more escape the Royal Supremacy than they can shun the air they breathe.* Religious Societies which are established

escape the Royal Supremacy than they can shun the air they breathe,—an assertion, it may be, somewhat too sweeping and bold. For a system which has come to be despised; and which appears to have made such demands and strains on the solemn oaths of the Judges to enable them to uphold it at any cost, and by any method ready to hand, is not very likely to enjoy a prolonged life. Possibly future, and not very remote, events may point a way for such an escape. Possibly even the existing ecclesiastical newspapers may chronicle its painless decease. Like Hindoo women who are sacrificed at their husbands' funeral-pyre, however, other deaths may occur, and other feebler institutions soon die, when this has taken place. So be it. Time will show.

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have their tribunals for determination of differences constituted by State law, or, at least, recognized and authorized by State law. Religious Societies which are not established no doubt set up their own tribunals with 'consensual jurisdiction'; but these are always liable to have their decisions reviewed on actions for breaches of contract and appeals *comme d'abus*. Cool-headed and thoughtful men deem the interests of Truth (!) more stable and more safe, on the whole, under the former system than under the latter. But there is nothing to prevent Mr. Carter and his friends proposing such a Court of Appeal as they can submit to with a good conscience. The difficulty will be that any Court that would satisfy them would be rejected by a large majority, as we believe, of lay Churchmen; and so would have slender chance of obtaining the necessary legal authority."

But the one Church of Pentecost, the Ark of Salvation, not national but universal, in the nations, but not dominated by their secular rulers, can alone bring order out of our disorder—harmony and unity out of chaos. It depends not for success on the will of sovereigns, nor on the babble of senates, nor upon the changeable fancies of the multitude. It has a message to deliver, clear, concise, consistent; and this message, whether men hear or whether they forbear, it delivers with unfaltering utterance and unfailing boldness. When it is proposed to halve or compromise God's Truth, entrusted to man for man, the only answer is, or can be, "*Non possumus.*" Its terms and definitions, instead of being obscure and ambiguous, as some profess to maintain, are only too clear; and, though many deny this, the fact is again and again the more apparent as the years pass by.

The Reformation, commenced under Henry VIII. and completed under Elizabeth, was justifiable, in truth, on one principle, and one principle only—that which for half a century was enunciated and proclaimed by supreme authority, set forth by all the archbishops and bishops, read four times a year by the ministers, and accepted by their allies; but which all reasonably-informed members of the Church of England now repudiate as historically false and inherently ridiculous, viz. "*that laity and clergy, learned and unlearned,*

all ages, sects, and degrees of men, women, and children of whole Christendom (an horrible and most dreadful thing to think) have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry, of all other vices most detested of God and most damnable to man, and that by the space of eight hundred years and more."*

On this astonishing statement of principle, which obviously guided all the Reformers of Elizabeth's reign, the changes, works of destruction, and various frightful cruelties then perpetrated, and already recorded, might, in some respects, have had some shadow of justification, but not otherwise.

Those, consequently, who believe this awful statement of the "Homilies" to be true, (a few persons still cling to a now exploded tradition) are perfectly justified in labouring to maintain†

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* "Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches." Third Part of the "Homily against Peril of Idolatry," p. 201. Oxford: 1816.

† "It was the Papists who, as we all know, reared these abbey-churches, where they offered Mass continually, but some four centuries ago the buildings were taken away from them, and wholly or in part destroyed. That this was really done with the approval of the Most High, no matter what instruments were employed, we cannot doubt—the principle being the same as that which obtained in the case of the idolatrous Canaanites who, when 'their iniquity had come to the full,' were driven out of their land, which fell forthwith into the hands of the Israelites. Now *it is only on this prin-*

the state of confusion, disorder, neglect,* contradiction, and conflict, which threatens our beloved country with the destruction of all belief in any revelation from God Almighty of any sort or kind; and which has its poisonous root in the daring principle of reform already referred to.

The present Bishop of Winchester recently put the following exact and incisive question concerning that series of events which has been partly recorded here—"Was it not clearly," he asked concerning the Reformation, "either a dire necessity or a most dreadful crime?"

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ciple that the Reformation can be defended. The Papists were idolators, and when *their* 'iniquity had come to the full'—like the heathen nations of Palestine and for the selfsame cause—they, too, were despoiled of their possessions. But they may justly claim the right of re-entry if their Protestant successors do the same things for which they themselves were driven out."—"The Rock"; a Church of England family newspaper, September 26th, 1879.

* Some recent statistics given to the world by the bishops themselves (A.D. 1879) afford some idea of the degraded and disgraceful state of the country. For example, in the diocese of Norwich there are exactly one thousand and fifty churches—in seven hundred and forty-six of which there is only a monthly communion; while in more than two hundred it is only administered quarterly. In the diocese of Hereford, containing four hundred and thirty-six churches, monthly communion is the rule in nearly three hundred. In the diocese of Bath and Wells, where the churches number five hundred and forty-six, there is no weekly communion in four hundred and nine. The state of the Welsh dioceses, of which less is known, is even more deplorable.

For himself—fearing neither horn of this defined dilemma—the Author is free to confess that, though he never altogether liked the account of those events, as dressed up and exhibited by cunning writers, like Burnet, Hume, and the late Professor Blunt, whom as a youth he read; yet he had not the faintest conception of the true nature of the proceedings of the Reformers and their patrons, until he began to study systematically and closely their actual sayings and doings in historical records and contemporary publications. He now sees what they were. He now knows something of their principles. He has at length discovered who was their Master, and by whom they must have been instigated to the work they so artfully accomplished. No doubt they were inspired. The result of their successful labours (which conclusively show it) is before our very eyes in unity broken, in authority,* civil as well as ecclesiastical, almost destroyed; in schism of every sort completely justified; in heresy at once fostered, strengthened, and sheltered. This is a distressing discovery—a startling acknowledgment—a most painful confession. Would to God

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* At all events, the only true Christian basis on which Authority should rest. All power belongs to our Lord. Authority comes from above, not from below: from God, not from the rabble, as Mr. J. R. Green maintains.

it were false or a mere phantasy! But alas, alas! notwithstanding what some of our highest officers in the State continue to assert*—it is only too true.

The National Church, however, after all, is a great and important as well as a very useful and valuable institution, and is the source of immense advantage to the people of England. It teaches them, as they acknowledge, a reasonable religion, which satisfies and pleases them,—a religion of sobriety, compromise, and moderation. This was made expressly for them, with some art and greater tact, under the Tudor monarchs; and has been frequently modified and wisely mended, from time to time, in order to suit the variable dispositions and wishes of majorities of the people under varying circumstances and during silent revolutions. The politician who proposed to destroy it would certainly incur a most grave and serious responsibility. For at present there is obviously nothing sufficiently organized to take its place. It has perhaps lost half the population,—though this

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* "The immense majority of the clergy and laity of the Church of England believe the Reformation to have been under the guidance of God's Providence, a return to the doctrine, and a nearer approach to the worship, of the earliest ages of the Church of Christ."—Bishop of London's Charge, November 1879.

seems doubtful, as the Nonconformists, though bragging loudly, have long feared the results of an official Census;—and it undoubtedly owns considerable mundane vigour. Perhaps the present activity of the various conflicting religions within its pale is its greatest and most pressing danger. A community founded on the principle of reform, however, is of course ever liable to reform. The Church of England, consequently, is always being reformed by the active, by self-seekers, and by the prescient amongst its masters and pastors. There is no rest because of the labours of such; while, after all, internal dissensions are certainly neither less frequent, less extended, nor less bitter than they were of old. To be a clerical reformer—more especially to reform, and cast a slur upon, what little of the Christian Faith remains—is sometimes to win the blue riband of worldly honours and Authority, and to merit the Nation's ungrudging applause. Such Reformers by consequence flourish and abound.

Notwithstanding all such drawbacks, however, the Church of England—with perhaps a clear majority of the nation, even if the indifferent be subtracted—seems to a certain extent rooted in their affections, having been marvellously bound up with the customs and institutions of the country for some centuries; and still exercises an obvious influence beyond its own immediate

limits. It has partially forgotten the hideous heresies, the wickedness, and the confusion under Elizabeth. It has survived the horrors and persecution of the Civil War and Cromwell's sanguinary atrocities. It has lived through the legal expulsion of the Nonconformists, the intrusion of William the Dutchman, and the bold breach made by the Nonjurors—long ago extinct. The mischievous influence of Deism, Latitudinarianism, and the Hanoverian Erastians, though chilling and deadly, was partially cast out. Then Joseph Butler wrote, a master and a guide. Wesley and Whitfield preached to the dry bones in our very dry valley; while, later on, Keble, learning the Catholic Faith concerning the Eucharist and Our Lady in middle life, sang so beautifully* that Englishmen listened and learnt; and thus their sentiments now happily are neither so ambiguous and inexact as heretofore regarding the Faith of their fathers, nor are their prejudices either so grotesque or so deep as once they were. Fox, the so-called "martyrologist" has been found out; while the historical artifices and arts of Gilbert Burnet the Scotchman, are now more truly and

* The enormous sale of "The Christian Year," beyond that of any other contemporary poetry, and the unparalleled success of "Hymns, Ancient and Modern," proves what an influence poetry and verse may exercise on all classes of a nation.

properly appraised. For all this, no Christian Englishman can be too heartily grateful.

As regards "Our Church" and country, we have lived to see great changes both abroad and at home, in our colonies and dependencies as well as in England. Even greater seem likely to ensue. The seeds of Paganism, strange to note, are springing up on Christian soil. Of old the resolution and might of the Turks, for example, often alarmed Europe in bygone ages; now their social decay and abject weakness actively stimulate its jealousies. At the "Reformation" at home, abbeys and churches were destroyed by thousands; now they are being restored and rebuilt. Ugliness and baldness were then popular; now Art has once more become the proper handmaid of Religion. Then, again, some kind of spiritual independence has already been secured in Canada, South Africa, and elsewhere; while "Bishops by Letters-Patent" seem likely to become an extinct race. Anciently the prejudices of our own people were intense even to absurdity, as regards the Faith of their forefathers and the Primate of Christendom, both of which they feared as well as hated; now the modern principle of civil and religious liberty, commended even by a Roman Catholic historian,* but perhaps even now a little

* "The History of England," by John Lingard, D.D., vol. vi. p. 324. Dublin: 1874.

run to seed, has done something towards blunting the weapons of professional controversialists, and securing a fair field and no favour even for those who have so consistently maintained the value and importance of Authority, existing on a Christian basis.

For our manifold religious evils there is but one true and efficient remedy—Corporate Reunion with the rest of the Christian Family; not to be attained by the presence or act of Compromise nor by the sacrifice of Truth, nor by the rejection of Authority, nor by flattering the rabble that Authority of right belongs to them—the ignoble work even of certain of the clergy. If there be a union or compact for united action amongst the enemies of Christianity to maim and destroy and overturn; surely, on the other hand, there should be active co-operation and harmony amongst the servants of the Crucified, to repair, to restore, and to build up again anew. Some are beginning to see this,* and to adopt a wise

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* At a meeting of those interested in the Reunion of Christendom, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on July 8th, 1879, the chair being taken by the Earl Nelson, the following resolutions were proposed and carried unanimously:—(1) "That the movement of 1833 can only attain its proper and adequate completion in the Corporate Reunion of Christendom"; (2) "That 'the religious difficulty' in Christian countries, and the failure of missionary enterprise

and far-sighted policy of peace and co-operation. For "Union is strength." * No scheme of union founded on self-seeking or self-pleasing can be lasting. Its only sure foundation is Christian Authority—based on the Rock of Divine Truth.

To effect this, men must be patient and enduring. The insults of the Erastians (who have been put into places of trust and high office because they *are* Erastians) are sometimes difficult to bear†; the studied contumely which some in

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to affect sensibly the vast masses of Heathendom, are at once a record and a warning of the fatal consequences of disunion"; (3) "That there is much in the present attitude both of the religious and the irreligious world, as well to encourage the hopes as to deepen the zeal of those who are labouring for the restoration of visible unity."

* See the various interesting documents on this important subject given in Appendix No. II.

† The Erastian principle appears to be steadily making way abroad, under the Archbishop's patronage and authority. For example, the "Barbados Agricultural Reporter" of June 27th, 1879, has the following remarkable paragraph in its leading columns:—"The impulsive and indiscreet Bishop of the diocese (Dr. Mitchinson) has again, as usual, been using his best endeavours to earn himself what is now, technically, expressed by the stereotyped phrase, 'unenviable notoriety,' this time in gratuitously mutilating our beautiful marriage service by *omitting the Names of the Second and Third Persons of the Blessed Trinity, while reading the Service, in order to pander to the religious views of a scion of the Hebrew race in this community, lately united in wedlock at the Cathedral to a Protestant lady by his lordship, who undertook to perform the Service when no other clergyman could be found to*

ecclesiastical authority deliberately throw upon the Catholic movement is often irritating to those who have to endure it. But to be irritated is neither wise nor Christian, and, in the long run, promotes no cause. When once, therefore,—in the light both of Reformation-revelations, and recent events*—the true character of the Esta-

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do so. The most profound sensation has been created by this unseemly, indecorous, unepiscopal, unprotestant, and unprecedented little illegal *faux pas* of his lordship; and it is the opinion of many that he can and ought to be brought to book for presuming to do, in Barbados, what the Archbishop of Canterbury would not dare attempt to do in England." Another *protegé* of Dr. Tait, the Bishop of Gibraltar, in his last Pastoral Letter, writes as follows concerning a school at Tunis, which he visited, supported by English money:—"The boys' school had on its books one hundred and forty, the girls' school two hundred and sixty, members. Though they are taught the doctrines of the Christian Religion, and repeated to me long passages of Holy Scripture, *none are baptized Christians; they are deterred from taking this step, as I am informed, by fear of persecution.*"—"A Pastoral Letter," by C. W. Sandford, D.D., p. 28. London: 1879.

* "A new crisis has arisen . . . It is found to the sorrow and shame of many that the spiritual freedom of the Church, together with the actual jurisdiction of its episcopate, is practically extinct. And, having been forced by the invasion and active powers of these evils to investigate more closely the whole history and condition of the Established Church since the Tudor changes, certain other defects and abuses have become evident to the Founders of this Order which urgently call for remedy."—"Statement concerning the Order of Corporate Reunion, A.D. 1877." See Appendix No. II.

blishment is apprehended and taken in; when the windows of the mind have been cleaned; when foolish ideals of actual facts have fallen down like Dagon, and dusty cobwebs of some antiquity have been carefully brushed away; when the individual sight is clearer—other people's green spectacles being put away—and the actual light is stronger, many more will be able to see that, in its chief phase, the National Church of England is indeed "of the earth earthy," and that the official utterances and action of its rulers constantly proclaim that fact. With some persons, ere they can realize this, patience and research are needed. As an expressive Arab proverb declares for those who are over-impulsive or too zealously random—"He has all things who waits." Let us wait, therefore, in faith and in confidence, but at the same time let us work with discretion, charity, and zeal.

APPENDIX I.

A LIST OF MARTYRS WHO SUFFERED UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH.

"What Christian can be found who after reading the well-substantiated narratives of their pitiful sufferings, their ardent zeal for the souls of others, their joyous endurance of excruciating trials, and their fortitude in approaching a death of peculiar agony, could dare to deny their genuine title to the martyr's crown? Through much tribulation we must enter into the kingdom of God; and well will it be for us, if we have marched as far as that noble army on the Royal Way of the Holy Cross."—"The Church Quarterly Review," vol. viii. pp. 124, 125. London: 1879.

Cuthbert Maine, priest, born at Yarlston near Barnstaple, Devonshire. Student of St. John's College, Oxford, and after his conversion, of Douay College. Apprehended at Volveden near Truro, tried at Launceston, and condemned for high treason; hung, drawn, and quartered at Launceston, November 29th, 1577.

John Nelson, priest, son of Sir N. Nelson, knt., born at Shelton near York. Student at Douay. Taken prisoner in London, condemned for denying the Queen's supremacy, and executed in the usual manner as a traitor at Tybourne, February 3rd, 157$\frac{7}{8}$.

Thomas Sherwood, scholar, born in London, educated at Douay. Apprehended, tried, and condemned in London for denying the Queen's supremacy; executed at Tybourne, being cut down while yet alive, dismembered, disembowelled, and quartered, on February 7th, 157$\frac{7}{8}$.

Everard Hanse, priest, was born in Northamptonshire, educated at Cambridge, and ordained a clergyman of the Church of England. A convert, studied at Rheims, and was ordained a Roman Catholic priest on March 25th, 1581. He was apprehended while visiting prisoners in the Marshalsea prison, and cast into Newgate amongst thieves, and loaded with irons. He was condemned for high treason and sentenced to be hung, drawn, and quartered. He suffered at Tybourne on July 31st, 1581.

Edmund Campion, priest, S.J., was born in London, educated first at Christchurch Hospital; student of St. John's College, Oxford; ordained deacon of the Church of England. After his conversion he studied at Douay, was admitted into the Society of Jesus at Rome, in 1573. Coming to England in 1580, he laboured in his vocation for thirteen months, and was taken at the house of Mr. Yates of Lyford. He was brought to London, and after being cruelly racked and tortured, was arraigned and condemned for high treason, but offered life and one hundred pounds a year if he would change his religion. He suffered in the usual manner, being hung, disembowelled, and quartered at Tybourne, December 1st, 1581, aged forty-two.

Ralphe Sherwine, priest. He was born at Rodesley near Longford, Derbyshire. Student and Fellow of Exeter Col-

lege, Oxford. A convert in 1575, and studied at Douay until he was made priest in 1577. On his return to England he was soon after taken in London, in November, 1580. After being twice cruelly racked and imprisoned for seven months, he was arraigned and condemned for high treason. Six months afterwards he was martyred by being hung, drawn, and quartered at Tybourne on December 1st, 1581.

Alexander Brian, priest, S.J., was born in Dorsetshire, and studied at Hart Hall, Oxford; a convert, and afterwards a student of Douay, A.D. 1576; returned to England a priest in 1579, and apprehended in London 28th April 1581. After cruel racking and torturing, he was condemned and sentenced as a traitor to be hung, disembowelled, and quartered, which sentence was executed upon him at Tybourne, December 1st, 1581. Before his death he was admitted into the Society of Jesus.

John Paine, priest, born in Northamptonshire. Admitted into the English College at Douay in 1575; ordained priest the following year, and sent upon the English mission. He resided chiefly at the house of Lady Petre in Essex, was apprehended in 1581, and brought to the Tower of London, where he was cruelly racked. He was tried at Chelmsford in Essex, and condemned to suffer for high treason in the usual manner, but offered life if he would go to church. The sentence was carried out on April 2nd, 1582.

Thomas Forde, priest, was born in Devonshire, graduated at Trinity College, Oxford; took his degree of Master of Arts in 1567, and admitted Fellow of that college soon afterwards. Became a Roman Catholic and entered the seminary at Douay in 1571; ordained priest in 1573. He returned to England and laboured for some years upon the mission, and was taken, together with Father Campion, in the house of Mr. Yates at Lyford in Berkshire. He was tried and re-

ceived sentence of death in London on November 21st, 1581, but was not executed until May 28th, 1582.

John Shert, priest, was born in Cheshire; educated at Brazenose College, Oxford, where he took a B.A. degree in 1566. He became a convert, and studied at Douay, from whence he was sent to Rome, when he was made priest, and then proceeded to the College at Rheims. From thence he came to England, in 1579, and laboured in his vocation until he was taken prisoner on July 14th, 1581. He was tried and condemned to suffer as a traitor, which sentence was put into execution at Tybourne on May 28th, 1582.

Robert Johnson, priest, was born in Shropshire; educated at Douay; was made priest and sent upon the English mission in 1576. On December 5th, 1580, having been previously in some other prison, he was sent to the Tower, and there, at three different times, cruelly racked. In November following, he was arraigned and condemned, as being a traitor, to be hung, drawn, and quartered, but was not executed until the 28th May 1582.

William Filbie, priest, was a native of Oxford, and educated there at Lincoln College. He became a convert, and went over to Douay or Rheims, where he was made priest in 1581. Returning to England, he was apprehended at the house of Mr. Yates, of Lyford, at the same time with Father Campion and his companions; committed to the Tower on July 22nd, arraigned and condemned the following November 20th. For six months he remained in prison, cruelly pinioned with heavy iron manacles, and suffered at Tybourne the usual death of a traitor on May 30th, 1582, aged 27.

Luke Kirby, priest, was born in Yorkshire, either at Durham or Richmond. He was Master of Arts at one of the English Universities, but after his conversion went to Douay, and was made a priest there in 1577. He returned to Eng-

land, after having been at the English College at Rome for some time, in 1580, and was soon after apprehended and committed to the Tower. There he endured the torture of "the scavenger's daughter." He was sentenced to death at the same time and for the same cause with Father Campion and others, but was not executed until May 28th, 1582.

Laurence Richardson, *alias* Johnson, priest, was born in Lancashire, educated at Brazenose College, Oxford, of which he was a Fellow, but on his conversion went over to the Douay College in 1573, where he was made priest in 1577. He laboured in his native county, Lancashire, until his apprehension in 1581. On November 21st of that year he was condemned to die the death of a traitor, and executed on the 30th of May 1582, being hung, drawn, and quartered at Tybourne.

Thomas Cottam, priest, was born in Lancashire, and educated at Brazenose College, Oxford, where he took his B.A. degree in 1568. For some time afterwards he was a schoolmaster in London, but becoming a Roman Catholic he went over to Douay. From thence he went to Rome, and entered the Society of Jesus. He returned to England in 1580, and was taken and tried at Westminster with Father Campion and others. On the 30th of May following (1582) he was executed at Tybourne in the usual manner.

William Lacy, priest, was born at Hanton in Yorkshire, in which county he for some time held a place of trust under Queen Elizabeth. His house was ever open to the Seminary priests from abroad, to whom he rendered every assistance in his power. On his wife's death, though now advanced in years, he resolved on dedicating the remainder of his life to God's service as a priest. He went over to Rheims, where he studied divinity, and from thence went to Pont-a-musson in Lorraine, and afterwards to Rome, where he was made priest. Returning to England in 1580, he

laboured in his own county of Yorkshire, with great fruit, for about two years. He was apprehended at York on July 22nd, 1582, and committed to the castle there, and loaded with irons. He was sentenced to die for high treason, and executed at York on August 22nd, 1582.

Richard Kirkeman, priest, was born at Adingham, in Yorkshire, of a good family. He studied at Douay, and was made priest and sent upon the mission in 1578. He laboured in the northern provinces, where he was stopped upon a journey, near Wakefield, and sent to prison. He was tried at York, where he was condemned for high treason—"First, for being a priest of Douay; secondly, for persuading the Queen's subjects to the Catholic religion." He was executed in the usual manner at York on August 22nd, 1582.

James Thompson, priest, was a native of Yorkshire, in the western part near York. He went over to the College at Rheims, was made priest there, and sent on the mission to England in 1581. He was apprehended at York on the 11th of August 1582, and on November 25th was brought to trial and condemned. He received his sentence of death with great joy, and was hung, drawn, and quartered at York on November 28th, 1582.

William Hart, priest, was born at Wells in Somersetshire; educated at Lincoln College, Oxford, where he greatly distinguished himself. From thence he passed over to Douay, and removed with the rest of the students to Rheims in 1578. Afterwards he studied at the English College at Rome, where he was made priest, and sent upon the mission. He laboured chiefly about York, visiting the Catholic prisoners and edifying the faithful by his exceeding charity, zeal, and devotion. He was apprehended with others after assisting at Mass at York Castle, but then escaped. He was, however, again taken six months afterwards and imprisoned at York Castle, where

he was heavily ironed. He was tried and condemned for high treason, and suffered at York on March 15th, 158⅔.

Richard Thirkill, or Thirkeld, priest, was born at Cunsley in the Bishopric of Durham. His early history is uncertain, but it seems that he was advanced in age when he went abroad to Douay and Rheims, and was then made priest in the year 1579. His mission was chiefly in and about York, where he was apprehended on suspicion of being a priest, while visiting a Catholic prisoner. He was confined at Kilcote prison, but removed to York Castle, and from thence to trial and execution. He suffered in the usual manner for high treason, on May 29th, 1583.

John Slade was born in Dorsetshire, and after his education at home became a student at Douay. Returning to England, and, on account of his religion, being unable to exercise his talent as a lawyer, he became a schoolmaster. He was apprehended for zealously maintaining the old religion and denying the Queen's supremacy, and tried and condemned at Winchester. He was hung, drawn, and quartered at that city, October 30th, 1583.

John Body, M.A., was born at Wells in Somersetshire, educated at New College, Oxford, where he took his degree, but, disliking the established religion, went over to Douay in May 1577. He was apprehended at the same time as Mr. Slade, with whom he is commonly associated, and tried and condemned with him at Winchester for the same cause. He suffered the traitor's death, with great constancy, at Andover on November 2nd, 1583.

George Haydock, priest, was son of Evan William Haydock, Esq., of Cottam Hall, near Preston, Lancashire. He was educated at Douay, and afterwards studied at Rome and Rheims, where he was made priest. He returned to England in 158½, and had scarcely arrived in London when

he was betrayed and apprehended (February 6th). He was offered his liberty if he would renounce the Pope. Refusing to do this, he was examined by Popham the Attorney-General, and afterwards by Cecil, and then sent to the Tower. Here he remained for two years, closely confined and watched, and deprived of all human comfort and assistance. He was tried at Westminster on February 6th, two years after his apprehension, and condemned for high treason. His execution took place at Tybourne on February 12th, 1584.

James Fenn, priest, was born at Montacute in Somersetshire, and educated first at New College, Oxford, and afterwards at Corpus Christi. Being unable to take the Oath of Supremacy tendered him when about to be made a Fellow of his College, he was expelled, and became first a tutor, and afterwards steward to Sir Nicholas Poyntz. He quitted this worldly employment to become a priest, and after studying at Rheims, was ordained there, 1580, and sent upon the English mission. He laboured in Somersetshire for a short time, and was apprehended and sent to Ilchester gaol. From thence he was conveyed to London and imprisoned in the Marshalsea for two years. He was tried and condemned for high treason, and suffered at Tybourne in the usual manner, February 12th, 1584.

Thomas Hemerford, or Emerford, was born in Dorsetshire, and educated at Oxford, but being dissatisfied with the established religion, went to Rheims, and from thence to Rome, where he was ordained a priest, about 1581. Returning to England, he was taken prisoner and tried, and executed at the same time and manner as Mr. Haydock and Mr. Fenn, February 12th, 158$\frac{3}{4}$.

John Nutter, priest, was born at Burnley in Lancashire, and educated at the University of Oxford, where he was admitted Batchelor of Divinity, June 13th, 1575. Afterwards, on his conversion, he went abroad to Rheims, was made priest

in 1582, and sent upon the mission. He was apprehended immediately upon landing in England, and committed to the Marshalsea. After being confined there about a year, he was tried and condemned at Westminster, for being a Catholic priest and denying the Queen's supremacy. His execution took place at Tybourne, with four other priests, on February 12th, 158$\frac{3}{4}$.

John Munden, or Mundyn, priest, was born at Maperton, Dorsetshire ; educated at New College, Oxford, where he was admitted Fellow in 1562. He was deprived of his Fellowship for being a Catholic, in 1566, and after many years went abroad, where he was made priest, either at Rheims or Rome, in 1582. He returned to England, and was apprehended for being a priest, about the end of February 158$\frac{2}{3}$, and was committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for about a year before being brought to trial. On the 6th and 7th of February 158$\frac{3}{4}$, he was tried and condemned, at the same time, and for the same cause, as the other four last treated of. He received his sentence with great joy and cheerfulness, and was executed with his companions at Tybourne on February 12th.

William Carter, a printer, was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tybourne on January 11th, 158$\frac{3}{4}$, for printing a "Treatise on Schism" against Catholics attending the Protestant services.

James Bell, priest, was born at Warrington, in Lancashire, brought up at Oxford, and ordained in Queen Mary's days. He conformed to the New Religion upon Queen Elizabeth's accession, but was reclaimed in 1581. In 158$\frac{3}{4}$ he was apprehended by a pursuivant, committed to Manchester gaol, and afterwards tried at Lancaster for the Supremacy, together with three others. He suffered the usual traitor's death on April 20th, 1584, with great joy and constancy, being then sixty years old.

John Finch was born at Eccleston in Lancashire, and brought up a Protestant. He became a zealous and fervent convert, and assisted the clergy in their labours in every possible way. At length he was apprehended, and when neither by threats nor promises they could induce him to "go to church," he was shamefully maltreated, being violently dragged through the streets, his head beating all the way upon the stones. He was then thrust into a dark, stinking dungeon, with nothing to lie on but the bare wet floor. Here they kept him for whole weeks together, sometimes for months, not to speak of innumerable other sufferings which he endured for many years. He was brought to trial at Lancaster for asserting the Pope's supremacy, found guilty of high treason, and executed on the following day, April 20th, 1584, together with Mr. Bell.

Richard White, born at Llangdlos, Montgomeryshire, was educated at Cambridge. He was for some time a schoolmaster, first at Wrexham, and then at Orton, in Flintshire. He was reconciled to the Catholic Church, and soon afterwards apprehended and committed to Ruthin gaol, where he lay three months loaded with chains. Being brought to trial, he was offered pardon if he would once go to church, but refusing, was again returned to prison. The following year he was carried by force to church, and then put in the stocks and suffered many indignities. He afterwards was cruelly tortured at Bewdley, and finally suffered death for denying the Queen's supremacy, at Wrexham in Denbighshire, October 17th, 1584, being cut down alive, and butchered in a most cruel manner.

Thomas Alfield, priest, was born in Gloucestershire, studied at Rheims, where he was made priest in 1581. He came over to England and was a prisoner in 1582. He was cruelly tortured in prison for dispersing, with the help of one Thomas Webley, a dyer, copies of Cardinal Allen's "Modest

Answer to the English Persecutors," and being brought to trial, together with Webley, they both were condemned and executed at Tybourne on July 5th, 1585. Both were offered life if they would renounce the Pope and acknowledge the Queen's spiritual supremacy.

Hugh Taylor, priest, was born at Durham, studied at Rheims, where he was made priest in 1584, and then sent upon the English mission. He was apprehended in the following year, and tried and condemned at York for being a priest and denying the Queen's supremacy. He was drawn, hanged, and quartered, at York, November 26, 1585.

Marmaduke Bowes, a married gentleman, of Angram Grange, near Appleton, in Cleveland, was executed at the same time with Mr. Taylor, for having entertained the latter at his house.

Thomas Crowther, priest, was born in Herefordshire, educated and ordained at Douay in 1575. He died in the Marshalsea, after about two years' imprisonment.

Edward Poole, priest, sent from Rheims in 1580, was apprehended and cast into prison the same year.

Laurence Vaux, formerly warden of Manchester, sometime convictor of the College of Douay or Rheims, afterwards a canon regular, was cast into the Gatehouse prison, together with N. Tichbourne, Esquire, by Aylmer, Bishop of London, in 1580, and died there the same year.

Edward Strancham, whom Stow in his Annals calls Edmund Barber, by which name he disguised himself upon the mission, was born at Oxford, and educated at St. John's College, where he took his B.A. degree in $157\frac{5}{6}$. Soon after he went over to Douay and afterwards to Rheims, where he was ordained priest and sent to England in June 1581. He suffered at Tybourne January 21st, $158\frac{5}{6}$, for being a priest.

Nicholas Woodfen, *alias* Wheeler, priest, was a native of Leominster in Herefordshire, and studied at Douay and Rheims, where he was made priest and sent upon the mission at the same time with the above Edward Stranchan. He was apprehended, tried, and executed at the same time and place (January 21st, $158\frac{5}{6}$) for being a priest.

William Thompson, *alias* Blackburn, made priest at Rheims, was condemned and executed at Tybourne for remaining in England, on April 20th, $158\frac{5}{6}$.

Richard Lee, *alias* Long, made priest at Lyons, was, together with the above, drawn, hung, and quartered, on April 20th, $158\frac{5}{6}$.

Richard Sergeant, *alias* Long, was born in Gloucestershire, and was an alumnus and priest of the College at Rheims. He was apprehended, tried, and condemned, simply for being a priest and remaining in the kingdom, and suffered at Tybourne on April 20th, 1586.

William Thompson, *alias* Blackburn, priest, born at Blackburn, Lancashire, suffered at the same time and for the same cause as the above.

Robert Anderton, born of an honourable family in Lancaster, and

William Marsden, born in the parish of Goosenor, in the same county, studied together at Rheims. Being made priests, they were sent on the English mission, and were immediately apprehended and soon after found guilty of being priests, and sentenced to die as traitors. They were executed together in the Isle of Wight, on April 25th, 1585.

Francis Ingolby, priest, was son of Sir William Ingolby, knt., born at Ripley, Yorkshire, ordained at Rheims, and sent to England in 1584. He suffered at York on June 3rd, 1586.

John Finglow, or Fingley, was born at Barmby, in Yorkshire, educated and made priest at Rheims, on March 25th, 1581. He was sent upon the English mission in the April following, and apprehended and committed to York Gaol. He suffered at York, August 8th, 1586.

John Sandys, was born at Chester, made priest at Rheims, and sent to England in 1584. He was apprehended, tried, and condemned for being a priest, and executed at Gloucester on August 11th or 12th, 1586.

John Lowe, born in London, was for some time a minister of the Established Church, but being converted went to Douay College, and afterwards to Rome, where he was made priest and sent upon the English mission. He was apprehended, tried, and condemned for his priestly character and functions, and executed at Tybourne, October 8th, 1586.

John Adams, born at Martin's Town in Dorsetshire, was ordained at Rheims and sent to England in 1581. He was banished in 1585, but returned and was again apprehended. He was condemned solely for being a priest, and was executed at Tybourne, October 8th, 1586.

Richard Dibdale, priest, born in Worcestershire, alumnus and priest of the College at Rheims; sent on the English mission in 1585; apprehended, tried, condemned, and executed for his priestly character and functions, at Tybourne, October 8th, 1586.

Mrs. Margaret Clitheroe, gentlewoman, was pressed to death at York, for harbouring and relieving priests, on March 26th (or 25th), either in 1586 or the foregoing year.

Robert Bickerdike, gentleman, born at Low-hall in Yorkshire, was executed at York for refusing to go to the Protestant church, in October or July 1586, or the foregoing year.

Richard Langley, Esquire, born at Grinthorp in Yorkshire, was executed at York for harbouring and assisting priests, on December 1st, 1586.

Thomas Pilchard, priest, born at Battle in Sussex, educated at Douay, made priest, and sent upon the mission in 1583. He was committed to prison and banished in 1585, but returned, and was again apprehended, tried, and condemned, for being a priest. He was executed at Dorchester, March 21st, 1587.

Edmund Sykes, priest, born at Leeds in Yorkshire, educated at Rheims, made priest, and sent to England in 1581. He was banished the same year, but returning, was taken again, and arraigned and condemned for high treason, and executed at York, March 23rd, 1587.

Robert Sutton, priest, born at Burton-upon-Trent, studied at Oxford and afterwards at Douay, where he was made priest and sent upon the mission, 157$\frac{7}{8}$. He was apprehended, and suffered death for being a priest, at Stafford, July 27th, 1587.

Stephen Rowsham, priest, was born in Oxfordshire and brought up at Oxford, where he was for some time minister of the church of St. Mary. On his conversion, he went to Rheims, was made priest, and sent upon the mission in 1582. He was taken and imprisoned in the Tower in the dungeon called "Little Ease" for eighteen months, and afterwards banished in 1585. Returning to England, he was again apprehended, and sentenced to die for high treason. He suffered with wonderful constancy, at Gloucester, either in March or July 1587.

John Hambley, priest, born at Exeter, alumnus and priest of Douay, and sent upon the mission 1585. He was apprehended, tried, and sentenced to die for being a priest, but was offered his life and a good living if he would conform to the

Established religion. He suffered with great constancy, at York, September 9th, 1587.

George Douglas, priest, a Scotchman, suffered at York with the above, on the same day and for the same cause.

Alexander Crowe,* priest, was born in Yorkshire, made priest at Rheims, and sent to England in 1584. He was condemned for his priestly character and functions, hanged, drawn, and quartered at York, November 30th, 1586.

Nicholas Garlick, priest, was born at Vinting in Glossopdale, Derbyshire; studied and made priest at Rheims; suffered for his religion and character at Derby, July 24th, 1588.

Robert Ludlam, priest, was born near Sheffield; studied and made priest at Rheims; and was apprehended, tried and condemned at the same time and for the same cause as Mr. Garlick, July 24th, 1588.

Richard Simpson, (sometime a minister), priest,† executed at the same time at Derby in 1588.

William Dean, priest, executed at Mile End, London, August 28th, 1588.

William Gunter, priest, executed on the same day.

Robert Morton, priest, executed in Lincoln's Inn Fields on the same day.

Thomas Halford, son of a minister, ordained priest at Rheims; executed on the same day at Clerkenwell.

James Claxton, ordained priest at Rheims; executed near Hounslow on the same day.

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* "See Historical Sketches of the Reformation," pp. 385–397. London: 1879.

† It should be noted that all the priests in this list were drawn, hung, dismembered, beheaded, and quartered.

Robert Leigh, priest, executed at Tybourne with five Catholic laymen and Mistress Margaret Ward, on August 30th, 1588.

William Way, a Cornishman and a priest, was executed at Kingston-on-Thames in Surrey, October 1st, 1588.

Robert Wilcox, Edward Campion, and Christopher Buxton, priests, were likewise executed.

Robert Widmerpool, of Widmerpool, Nottinghamshire, gentleman, tutor to the Earl of Northumberland, about the same time.

Ralph Crocket and Edward James, priests, at Chichester, October 1st, 1588.

John Robinson, priest.

William Hartley, priest, executed October 5th, 1588, in his mother's presence, near Bankside.

John Weldon, priest, executed the same day.

Richard Williams, priest.

Robert Sutton, schoolmaster, executed at Clerkenwell.

Edward Burden and John Hewitt, priests, executed at York, October 5th, 1588.

William Lamplough, layman, suffered at Gloucester in 1588.

Robert Dalby and John Amias, priests, on March 16th, 1598, suffered at York.

Richard Yaxley, of Lincolnshire, and George Nichols, of Oxford, priests, executed at Oxford, July 5th, 1589.

Thomas Belson, of Brill, Bucks, gentleman, executed at Oxford, July 5th, 1589.

Humphrey Pritchard, layman, executed at Oxford, a servant to Belson, suffered on the same day.

William Spencer, priest, executed at York, September 24th, 1589.

Robert Hardesty, layman, at York, at the same time.

Christopher Bayles, priest, executed at Fleet Street, London, March 4th, 1590.

Nicholas Horner, layman, executed at Smithfield, March 4th, 1590.

Alexander Blake, layman, executed at Gray's Inn Lane, March 4th, 1590.

Miles Gerard and Francis Dickenson, priests, suffered at Rochester on April 30th, 1590.

Edward Johnes, priest, executed at Fleet Street London, May 6th, 1590.

Anthony Middleton, priest, executed at Clerkenwell, May 6th, 1590.

Edmund Duke, priest, suffered at Durham, May 27th, 1590.

John Hogg, priest, suffered at Durham, May 27th, 1590.

Richard Holliday, priest, suffered at Durham, May 27th, 1590.

Richard Hill, priest, suffered at Durham, May 27th, 1590.

Robert Thorp, priest, hung, drawn, and quartered at York, May 31st, 1591.

Thomas Watkinson, yeoman, hanged at York at the same time.

Mountford Scott and George Beesley, priests, executed at Fleet Street, London.

Robert Dickenson, priest, executed at Winchester, July 7th, 1591.

Ralph Milner, layman of Winchester, suffered at the same time and place.

William Pikes, layman of Dorchester, suffered there for denying the Queen's Supremacy.

Edmund Jennings,* priest, suffered at Gray's Inn Fields, December 10th, 1591.

Swithin Wells, gentleman, suffered at the same place.

Eustachius White, priest, suffered at Tybourne, on December 10th, 1591.

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* See "Historical Sketches of the Reformation," pp. 361–382. London: 1879.

Polydore Plasden, priest, suffered at Tybourne, on December 10th, 1591.

Bryan Lacey, layman, suffered at Tybourne, on December 10th, 1591.

John Mason, layman, suffered at Tybourne, on December 10th, 1591.

Sydney Hodgson, layman, suffered at Tybourne, on December 10th, 1591.

William Paterson, priest, at Tybourne, January 22nd, 1592.

Thomas Pormorte, St. Paul's Churchyard, London, February 8th, 1592.

Robert Ashton, gentleman, suffered at Tybourne, June 23rd, 1592.

Edward Waterson, priest, suffered at Newcastle, January 7th, 1593.

James Bird, gentleman, suffered at Winchester, Lady-day, 1593.

Anthony Page, priest, was hung, drawn, and quartered at York, April 20th, 1593.

Joseph Lampton, priest, at Newcastle, July 27th, 1593.

William Davies, priest, at Beaumaris, July 21st, 1593.

John Speed, layman, at Durham, February 4th, 1594.

William Harington, priest, at Tybourne, February 18th, 1594.

John Cornelius, priest,* at Dorchester, July 4th, 1594.

Thomas Bosgrave, gentleman, at Dorchester, July 4th, 1594.

Terence Carey, layman, at Dorchester, July 4th, 1594.

Patrick Salmon, at Dorchester, July 4th, 1594.

John Bost, priest, suffered at Durham, July 19th, 1594.

John Ingram, priest, suffered at Newcastle, July 25th, 1594.

George Swallowell, sometime a minister, executed at Darlington in 1594.

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* To the case of Father Cornelius, and to that of several others in this list, special reference has been made in the body of this book.

Edward Osbaldeston, priest, executed at York in 1594.

Robert Southwell, priest, at Tybourne (see vol. ii. pp. 300–310) in 1595.

Alexander Rawlins, priest, at York in 1595.

Henry Walpole, priest, at York (see vol. ii. pp. 310–316) in 1595.

James Atkinson, layman, in 1595.

William Freeman, priest, at Warwick in 1595.

George Errington, gentleman, suffered at York in 1596.

William Knight, yeoman, suffered at York in 1596.

William Gibson, yeoman, suffered at York in 1596.

Henry Abbott, yeoman, suffered at York in 1596.

William Andleby, priest, suffered at York in 1597.

Thomas Warcopp, gentleman, suffered at York in 1597.

Edward Fullthorpe, gentleman, suffered at York in 1597.

John Britton, gentleman, suffered at York in 1598.

Peter Snow, priest, suffered at York in 1598.

Ralph Grimstone, gentleman, suffered at York in 1598.

John Jones, priest, suffered at St. Thomas' Watering in 1598.

Christopher Robinson, priest, at Carlisle, in the same year.

Richard Horner, priest, at York, in 1598.

Matthias Harrison, priest, at York in 1599.

John Lyon, yeoman, at Oakham in 1599.

James Dowdall, merchant, at Exeter in the same year.

In the year 1600 the following priests were executed :—

Christopher Wharton, at York.

Thomas Sprott, at Lincoln.

Thomas Hunt, at Lincoln.

Robert Nutter, at Lancaster.

Edward Thwing, at Lancaster.

Thomas Pallasor, at Durham.

And the following laymen :—

John Rigby, at St. Thomas' Watering.

John Norton, at Durham.
John Talbot, at Durham.

In the year 1601 the following priests were executed :—
John Pybush, at St. Thomas' Watering.
Mark Barkworth, at Tybourne.
Roger Filcock, at Tybourne.
Thurston Hunt, at Lancaster.
Robert Middleton, at Lancaster.

And the following laity :—
Ann Line, gentlewoman, at Tybourne.
Nicholas Tichbourne, at Tybourne.
Thomas Hackshott, at Tybourne.

In 1602 four priests were executed, viz. :—
James Harrison, at York.
Thomas Tichbourne, at Tybourne.
Robert Watkinson, at Tybourne.
Francis Page, at Tybourne.

And the following laymen :—
Anthony Batty, gentleman, at York.
James Duckett, bookseller, at Tybourne.

And in 1603 one priest, William Richards, was drawn, hung, dismembered, disembowelled, and quartered at Tybourne.

APPENDIX II.

SOCIETIES RELATING TO REUNION.

No. I.—ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE UNITY OF CHRISTENDOM.

ESTABLISHED SEPTEMBER 8TH, 1857, FEAST OF THE NATIVITY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.

President.

JOHN D. CHAMBERS, Esq., M.A., Oxon., Recorder of Salisbury.

Treasurer.

G. J. MURRAY, Esq., Wootton Court, Canterbury.

AN Association has been formed under the above title, to unite in a bond of intercessory prayer members both of the clergy and laity of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Anglican Communions. It is hoped and believed that many, however widely separated at present in their religious convictions, who deplore the grievous scandal to unbelievers, and the hindrance to the promotion of the truth and holiness among Christians, caused by the unhappy divisions existing amongst those who profess to have "One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism," will recognize the consequent duty of joining their intercession to the Redeemer's dying prayer,

"that they all may be One, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be One in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me." To all, then, who, while they lament the divisions among Christians look forward for their healing mainly to a Corporate Re-Union of those three great bodies which claim for themselves the inheritance of the priesthood and the name of Catholic, an appeal is made. They are not asked to compromise any principles which they rightly or wrongly hold dear. They are simply asked to unite for the promotion of a high and holy end, in reliance on the promise of our Divine Lord, that "whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive"; and that "if two of you agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of My Father Who is in heaven." The daily use of a short form of prayer, together with one "Our Father"—for the intention of the Association—is the only obligation incurred by those who join it; to which is added, in the case of priests, the offering, at least once in three months, of the Holy Sacrifice, for the same intention.

Form of Prayer.

O Lord Jesus Christ, Who saidst unto Thine Apostles, Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you; regard not my sins, but the faith of Thy Church; and grant Her that peace and Unity which is agreeable to Thy Will, Who livest and reignest God for ever and ever, Amen. Our Father, &c.

Note.—In joining the Association, no one is understood as thereby expressing an opinion on any matter which may be deemed a point of controversy, or on any religious question except that the object of the Association is desirable.

Those who are desirous of joining the Association are requested *to sign* the following Declaration printed in italics,

adding the date, and their place of residence in full, and return it to the Secretary of the A.P.U.C., 30, Charing Cross, London, S.W.

DECLARATION :—

"*I willingly join the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, and undertake* [*to offer the Holy Sacrifice once in three months and**] *to recite daily the above prayers for the intention of the same.*"

Signature _____

Address _____

Date _____

N.B.—The names of members will not be made public.

All baptized persons are eligible to become members of the Association.

No. II.—THE HOME REUNION SOCIETY.

OFFICE, 7, WHITEHALL, LONDON, S.W.

"That they all may be One."—*S. John* xvii. 21.

President.

THE LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Vice-Presidents.

Right Hon. Earl NELSON.
Lord Bishop of CARLISLE.
Lord Bishop of EXETER.
Lord Bishop of LINCOLN.
Lord Bishop of LLANDAFF.

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* Lay persons will erase the words in brackets.

Lord Bishop of Salisbury.
Lord Bishop of Truro.
Lord Bishop of Barbados.
Lord Bishop of Edinburgh.
Lord Bishop of Grahamstown.
Lord Bishop of Pretoria.

Secretary.

Rev. R. Milburn Blakiston, 7, Whitehall, S.W.

RULES AND CONSTITUTION.

I. This Society shall be called "The Home Reunion Society."

II. The purpose of this Society shall be to present the Church of England in a conciliatory attitude towards those who regard themselves as outside her pale, so as to lead towards the Corporate Reunion of all Christians holding the doctrines of the Ever-Blessed Trinity and the Incarnation and Atonement of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Society, though it cannot support any scheme of comprehension compromising the three Creeds, or the Episcopal constitution of the Church, will be prepared to advocate all reasonable liberty in matters not contravening the Church's Faith, Order, or Discipline.

III. The action of the Society will comprehend—

1. Special private prayer for Unity as the first duty of all who desire Reunion.
2. Special public Services with Sermons on Christian Unity, and the frequent use of the "Prayer for Unity" from the Office for the Accession in the Prayer Book.
3. The removal of all defects and abuses in the practical working of the Church's system which may justly give offence to Nonconformists.

4. Lectures on the history, doctrines, and formularies of the Church of England, and the circulation of books and papers likely to advance the purpose of the Society.
5. The promotion of freer social intercourse between Churchmen and Nonconformists.
6. The appointment of Committees to arrange for Conferences with Nonconformists, in furtherance of the purpose of the Society.

No. III.—STATEMENT CONCERNING THE ORDER OF CORPORATE REUNION.

(FOUNDED SEPTEMBER 8TH, A.D. 1877.)

"That they all may be One."

Rulers of the Order:—

The Bishop of DORCHESTER.
The Bishop of SELBY.
The Bishop of CAERLEON.

Registrar.

WILLIAM GRANT, Esq., 13, Clifton Square, Peckham, London, S.E.

Secretary to the Rector.

R. C. D. BLOUNT, Esq.

Badge Maker.

Mr. EDWIN UMFREVILLE, 119, Jermyn Street, St. James', London, S.W.

IT has long been felt that there is need of united action for the purpose of supplying certain defects, opposing certain abuses, and carrying out certain objects in the Church of England; and this feeling has led to the formation of various Societies, more or less numerous and influential. Such are—The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; the Church

Missionary Society; the English Church Union; the Guild of St. Alban; the Home Reunion Society; the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament; the Society for the Maintenance of the Faith, and the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, all of which extend their operations as far as possible over the entire Anglican Church.

But a new crisis has arisen with which these Societies are powerless to deal; for now it is found, to the sorrow and shame of many, that the Spiritual freedom of the Church, together with the actual jurisdiction of its episcopate, is practically extinct. And, having been forced by the invasion and active power of these evils to investigate more closely the whole history and condition of the Established Church since the Tudor changes, certain other defects and abuses have become evident to the Founders of this Order, which urgently call for remedy. The attention of Catholic Churchmen, therefore, is especially invited to the ensuing brief statement of its object and the method by which it desires to work.

The evils deplored, and which have to be contended with, are these:—

1. Extreme confusion in organization and discipline.
2. Grave diversity of doctrinal teaching.
3. Lapse of spiritual jurisdiction.
4. Loss of the spiritual freedom of the Church.
5. Uncertainty of sacramental status, arising from the long-continued prevalence of shameful neglect and carelessness in the administration of Baptism, contrary to the directions contained in the Book of Common Prayer.
6. Want of an unquestioned Episcopal Succession.

All these defects and evils have been carefully examined into; and, after long and prayerful deliberation, adequate remedies have, by the help of God, been secured. The Rulers

of this Order are in a position to satisfy every person who may desire further information, that nothing which is needed for a sound dogmatic basis,—actual power of Jurisdiction for the Rulers of the Order, spiritual freedom to worship and serve God Almighty as did our forefathers, and certain integrity of all sacraments,—is wanting to the same.

Not only have the Rulers succeeded in obtaining all these things, but they have carefully done so without adding to the existing confusion, without infringing upon the lawful rights of any, and without hastening that disintegrating and destructive process which is rapidly going on around, and which they so unfeignedly deplore.

They therefore affectionately invite all faithful Catholics in the Church of England to examine and study the principles of action of the Order. This can be done by perusal of their Pastoral Letter, and by personal application to their duly-appointed officers. That the work of the Order should be conducted in accordance with the methods laid down, it is necessary that those only should be made acquainted with the details, who may be practically concerned in them. As it is desired to interfere with no one who is not willing to co-operate, so it is the strong and solemn determination of the Rulers of the Order not to allow any one not concerned to interfere with them in any way. If this great work be of God, as it is believed to be, then by His help it will prosper. If not, it will soon enough come to nought without the intervention, opposition, or contrivance of man.

Finally, attention is called to the fact that certain defects and misunderstandings which have hitherto beset the path of Churchmen have constituted very serious obstacles and hindrances to the attainment of Corporate Reunion with other portions of the One Family of God. These defects and misunderstandings are now, thanks be to the Blessed and Adorable Trinity! entirely obviated in the persons of all who enter this Order. For twenty years, thousands of faithful

Christians have been unceasingly praying for the Restoration of Corporate Reunion to the Churches of Christ; so that many cannot but regard the formal foundation and successful institution of this Order as a direct answer to these prayers.

Ad majorem Dei gloriam.

No. IV.—ASSOCIATION OF PRAYERS FOR THE RETURN OF THE SEPARATED PORTIONS OF CHRISTENDOM TO CATHOLIC UNITY.

FOUNDED, A.D. 1877.

Office, St. Etheldreda's Church, Ely Place, Holborn, W.C.

THE establishment of an Association of Prayers for the return of the separated Churches of the East, especially of the Greco-Russian Church, to Catholic Unity, was the dying legacy to the Barnabite Order of the late saintly Father Schouvaloff, himself a Barnabite and a Russian convert.

In introducing this Association into England, it is proposed to include in its intention all the separated portions of Christendom, particularly the Anglican and other Christian bodies of this country.

With a view to this the following petition was laid before our Holy Father, to which His Holiness was graciously pleased to give a favourable reply.

"MOST HOLY FATHER,—Prostrate at the feet of your Holiness, Father Tondini of the Barnabite Order, at present resident in England, desires humbly to state that the 'ASSOCIATION OF PRAYERS FOR THE RETURN OF THE NON-UNITED CHURCHES OF THE EAST, AND ESPECIALLY OF THE GRECO-RUSSIAN CHURCH, TO CATHOLIC UNITY,' as expressly sanctioned and enriched with Indulgences by your Holiness, and warmly recommended by many of the Bishops, is already under their protection widely spread, having been established in many of the Dioceses of France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, and Austria, especially in her Sclavonic provinces.

"Your humble petitioner, considering that if our Lord, in His mercy, moved by many prayers, should vouchsafe to restore England to Catholic Unity; owing to her influence and dominion over so many and such vast regions of the world; she might become a powerful instrument of Divine Providence in the fulfilment of the words of our Redeemer: 'THERE SHALL BE ONE FOLD AND ONE SHEPHERD'; and seeing the happy effects which have been produced, not only on Catholics but on non-Catholics as well, by the high praise and hopes which your Holiness has lately expressed in regard of England; asks once more a special Benediction from your Holiness on the above ASSOCIATION OF PRAYERS, earnestly requesting your approval, that this work, already recommended by many of the Catholic Bishops of the United Kingdom, and especially by His Eminence the Archbishop of Westminster, may be extended so as to include in its intention, not only the non-Catholics of the East, but also all Christians now separated from the CENTRE OF UNITY, and more especially the Anglicans and others of these Kingdoms.

"BENEDICAT ET EXAUDIAT VOS DEUS.

"13 MAII., 1877. "PIUS. P. P. IX."

A Mass, together with prayers for this intention, as given below, is said every Saturday at 10 o'clock in the Church of St. Etheldreda, Ely Place, Holborn; where communications may be addressed to the Rev. F. Tondini of the Barnabite Order, chief promoter of the Association, or to the Rev. F. Lockhart of the Order of Charity.

In the night before His Passion our Divine Redeemer prayed, saying: "*Holy Father, keep them in Thy Name whom Thou hast given Me, that they who believe in Me may be One in Us; that the World may believe that Thou hast sent Me.*" All are hereby invited to unite daily in this intention of the Divine Head of the Church.

PRAYER FOR THE RESTORATION OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND WALES, AND OF THE NON-CATHOLICS OF IRELAND, TO CATHOLIC UNITY.

O merciful God, let the glorious intercession of Thy Saints assist us; particularly the most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of Thy only begotten Son, and Thy Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, to whose patronage we humbly recommend our country. Be mindful of our fathers, Eleutherius, Celestine, and Gregory, Bishops of the Holy City; of Patrick and Palladius, Augustine, Columba, and Aidan, who delivered to us inviolate the faith of the holy Roman Church. Remember our holy martyrs, who shed their blood for Christ; especially our first martyr, St. Alban, and Thy most glorious Bishop, St. Thomas of Canterbury. Remember all those holy confessors, bishops, and kings, all those holy monks and hermits, all those holy virgins and widows, who made this once an Island of Saints illustrious by their glorious merits and virtues. Let not their memory perish from before Thee, O Lord, but let their supplication enter daily into Thy sight; and do Thou, Who didst so often spare Thy sinful people for the sake of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, now also, moved by the prayers of our fathers reigning with Thee, have mercy upon us, save Thy people, and bless Thine inheritance: and suffer not those souls to perish, which Thy Son hath redeemed with His most Precious Blood. Who liveth and reigneth with thee, world without end. Amen.

Westminster, May 22, 1877.

We hereby approve and sanction for this Diocese the "Association of Prayers for the Return of the Separated Portions of Christendom to Catholic Unity"; and we pray that the Holy Spirit of God may gather them once more into the only true fold.

HENRY EDWARD,
Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

APPENDIX III.

Having made inquiries concerning the remarkable cures which took place in London in the spring of 1879, I am favoured with permission—for which I am truly obliged—to publish the following letter from Lady Gertrude Douglas :—

St. Vincent's Home,
Harrow Road, W.
November 15th, 1879.

Dear Dr. Lee,

John M'Carthy, aged 13, was completely cured of paralysis of the spine and legs, on the 25th of March 1879, at the end of a Novena to Our Lady of Lourdes, having drunk of the water and been sprinkled with it for nine days. The occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of the Church dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, under the title of Our Lady of Lourdes. The ceremony took place on the afternoon of the 24th, and the Novena ended on the 25th, when at 5 a.m., suddenly, and without any intermediate convalescence, John M'Carthy, for a year previously a helpless

cripple, got up and dressed himself and appeared to us all completely cured. He has never suffered the least relapse, and can walk and jump and play as well as any child in the school. On the same day, at about 8.30 A.M., James Dwyer, aged 10, recovered also suddenly from paralysis of the sciatica nerves, which had rendered him a cripple for three weeks. He was carried to church, made his first Communion in front of the Altar of Our Lady of Lourdes, and after the Holy Communion had been given him, and that he had received the water of Lourdes, he got up from his chair and knelt by himself before the altar. He was also completely and instantaneously cured, and has never suffered the least relapse.

These are the facts, dear Dr. Lee, which I send you according to your request. For any further explanation or references you might require, I can only refer you to His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop.

Believe me,

Yours truly,

GERTRUDE DOUGLAS.

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